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ABSTRACT

This document explores, from a Dutch perspective, the role of the performing arts in education in developing nations. In particular, the analysis focuses on Zambia. Introductory sections of the report touch on the connections among culture, education, and performance, as well as the role of avant-garde and popular theater, the theme of alienation, and the anthropology of theater. A historical section addresses the use of theater in development communication, popular theater and social change, the performing arts in African indigenous education, and the historical development of Zambian national theater. A section entitled "Theatre for Development" deals with the performing arts in national development, theater for development in India and Bangladesh, and the role of the performing arts in changing women's roles. "Education and Training" is the title of a section that encompasses the formalizing of expressive skills training and implementing the anthropology of theater. A section on policy examines the Dutch role in international performing arts education and research, an international popular theater meeting in Zambia, and the empowerment of development support communication via theater for development. The document also includes notes, appendices containing acronyms and definitions. Contains approximately 20 pages of references. (SG)

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CESO PAPERBACK NO. 16

Learning by performing arts

From indigenous to endogenous cultural development

Kees Epskamp

Foreword

CESO is a research institute which is concerned with the study of education in developing countries, as the name indicates. In addition, CESO performs studies in support of the Netherlands policy in development co-operation with respect to education and training. Because of this the Centre is frequently involved in lending policy advice and monitoring collaborative relations.

For a number of years one of the Centre's research themes has been didactic styles existing and operating in developing countries, which have of old determined skill training in non-western cultures. These studies are anthropological in nature, dealing with indigenous and endogenous didactic processes, in which learning is a creative process of ad-hoc problem solving. Of course solving problems has two sides, an instrumental-technical one and an expressive one. Both aspects are dealt with in CESO studies.

In relation to performing arts, CESO in 1986 launched an extensive study of the role of development-supporting theatre as an educative medium for adult education in the Third World.

Several studies were undertaken for the purpose, after which CESO issued some occasional papers. In 1989 the study was wound up with the publication of a paperback entitled *Theatre in search of social change*, containing a thorough assessment of the educational value of theatre in the field of adult education. Countless examples featuring in the study were derived from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

CESO undertook a second study of the performing arts in 1988, this time an identification study. The aim was to achieve an inventory of the Netherlands expertise with regard to the performing arts outside the Euro-American cultural world. The basic assumption was that such expertise should also exist outside the academic circle of research and higher education, with practitioners of performing arts. Never before had such expertise been extensively mapped out in the Netherlands.

This study, partly sponsored by the Netherlands Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Culture (WVC), yielded two provisional conclusions. In the first place it appeared that more and more young and theoretically trained researchers felt the need for practical training in their subjects, beside their scientific study of non-western performing arts. There is a growing interest in 'learning by doing', among young scholars.

The second conclusion of this inventory of the Netherlands expertise potential with respect to non-western performing arts, was that the majority of researchers and artists, students and lecturers tended to undertake a journey to Southern and South-East Asia. This is hardly surprising, in view of the Netherlands historical contacts with Indonesia. The most frequently visited places are Java and Bali, then India, followed by Japan and China. The attention for these areas can be explained by the Netherlands' cultural treaties with these countries.

Following the line of this identification study, in 1990 CESO started a third study dealing with performing arts, this time focusing on research into arts and fine arts education in the developing countries at the tertiary level. In this study special attention was paid to the didactics of craft-like training programmes, as for example the apprenticeship system, the pedagogical principle of learning by doing and the workshop methodology. Within this special sector of higher professional training ways were explored in linking up South-South networks and North-South collaboration strategies which fit into the Netherlands educational policy of internationalizing Higher Professional Training (HBO) institutes.

It is hoped that by publishing this paperback on 'learning by performing arts' a wider acceptance and support will grow for future collaborative activities in this field.

In 1984, Kees Epskamp spent two months in Zambia to make a preliminary study of developments in Zambian performing arts. He combined his research into the literature with interviews with experts present. The study was undertaken in co-operation with the Institute of African Studies (IAS) in Lusaka, in close co-operation with the Department of Performing Arts in Lusaka, and with the Department of Performing Arts connected with the Centre for the Arts of the University of Zambia (UNZA).

This document would never have been achieved without the special co-operation of Dr. S.P.C. Moyo, director of the Institute of African Studies (Lusaka), Dr. M.I. Mapoma, director of the Centre for the Arts (UNZA, Lusaka) and Mr. Edgar Nkowane, artistic leader of the National Dance Troupe of Zambia. Without the continuous stimulus and enthusiasm of Kabwe Kasoma, connected with the Centre for the Arts, and Dickson Mwanza, connected with UNZA, this study of Zambian Performing Arts would never have attained this depth.

Grateful acknowledgements also have to be made to Stewart Crehan (during 1991 related to the University of Swaziland) for his useful suggestions concerning my notes on Zambian theatre.

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Part of the introductory chapter one of this book has formerly been published in the Dutch language in *Tribaal*, number 24, January 1986 (pp. 9-10), under the title 'Dans en drama in Zambia; initiatie als leerproces'. Parts of chapter eleven have been published earlier in *NIO-Kroniek* no. 57(1988) pp. 11-13 entitled 'Komen vrouwen de belijdenis voorbij; theater als emanciperend medium' and also in the same bulletin no. 62(1989) pp. 17-18 under the title 'Kom, we nemen er nog een'.

Elaborated quotations are made from articles from the author which appeared under the title of 'Getting popular theatre internationally organised' in number 11 (December 1983) of *Sonolux Information* (p. 19-21); 'Training popular theatre trainers: a case study of Nigeria' in volume 29 (1983) of *Maske und Kothurne, Internationale Beiträge zur Theaterwissenschaft* (p. 272-281); 'Theater en de eigenaardigheden van gedrag: rituelen als model voor de on-alledaagse werkelijkheid' in *Rituelen*, a reader published by the secretarial office of Bureau Studium Generale of the State University of Utrecht (RUU) in 1989 (p. 177-196); 'Vormingstheater: activist theatre in the Netherlands' published in *Theaterwork*, 3(1983)3: 33-35.

Some of the chapters in this book have been presented on an earlier date at various international meetings and conferences and have not been published before. Chapter two 'Avant-garde and popular theatre: a Cry of Asia' was first prepared and presented at the Studium Generale on the 'Cry of Asia', organised by the State University of Utrecht (RUU) on the 24th of October 1989. Chapter three 'From didactics to aesthetics: alienation and the theatre of the nineties' was prepared for and presented at the Popular Theatre Workshop/Conference organized by the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) in Rehoboth (Namibia), 1st-14th of August, 1991. Chapter five on 'Fools for development' was initially prepared and presented at the April Fools' Day conference on linguistic humor, WHIM conference at the Memorial Union, Arizona State University (Tempe), April 1-3, 1982. Eventually the text of chapter ten 'From popular theatre to theatre for development in India and Bangladesh' was prepared for and presented at the 11th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies (Panel 11, 'The Performing Arts'), Amsterdam July 2nd to July 5th, 1990. Chapter twelve on 'Curricula, credits and certificates' was originally prepared for the international symposium on 'Education, Culture and Productive Life in Developing Countries', organised by the Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries (CESO), The Hague, 9-21 December 1988. Chapter thirteen 'Putting the anthropology of theatre into practice: training, acting and simulating' was initially prepared and presented at a Studium Generale series of lectures on 'Cultural Erosion' organised by the University of Amsterdam (UvA; CREA) and the Soeterijn Theatre (KIT) on the thirteenth of February 1992. 'Internationalizing Dutch higher education and research with respect to the performing arts', was prepared for and presented at the 1st Congress 'European Theatre', 26th-30th of March, organised by the University Institute of European Theatre, Barcelona (Spain), 1991.

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"Tender marries" (Amsterdam)
Photo: Tender

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1.
Introduction: culture, education and performance

Among the Nsenga of Zambia, boys' initiation rites began in the *gowelo*, a special camp outside the village. Strict rules applied in this temporary boarding school, which was run by several adult men. They made out the duty roster and issued all the orders. The boys were trained as a group in the use of weapons and tools. They learned to hunt and fight. But the household tasks of chopping wood and cleaning the floor also had to be learned. Nowadays things are different. During the day the boys help their parents with the livestock and play games or learn traditional dances.

Such adaptation has taken place far less in the initiation of Nsenga girls. They too are segregated for a time, but they are taken singly to a small hut at the edge of the village. This isolation used to last until their marriage; now it is more temporary. As soon as a girl develops breasts at about the age of twelve she goes to live in a hut for 'juniors', where in the company of her peers she learns from older women specialists the techniques for being a wife and housewife. Each girl also has her own personal supervisor *(phungu)* usually an aunt, who councels the girl. A girl and her supervisor will often maintain a bond of friendship into later life.

In the evening the girls learn the *chimwangalala* dance, which may be performed in public exclusively by women who have been initiated. In the juniors' hut the dance is practised only until it has been mastered. The dance is accompanied by group singing and by the *mitungu*, a percussion instrument. One of the occasions on which adult women perform this dance in public is when one of the girls menstruates for the first time. The women are told and the dance begins. Neither men nor strangers are allowed. The girl is led out of the *gowelo*, and she is told in song about what is good and bad behaviour within the community, and about what her social duties will be. After that the girl moves to a hut for 'seniors'. There she receives specific instruction about the *chinamwali* ceremony which awaits her when at the end of her initiation period she is formally led into the village as an adult woman. Thus, according to Msimuku (1988:362) there is "exclusively a female team of trainers. No male is involved in the girl's training at this stage".

It is interesting to see the different roles of the various groups of the women. When she first goes to the *gowelo*, the girl is usually accompanied by a younger girl, one that is not yet ready for the ritual seclusion. Specialists in women's affairs provide the girls with instruction. These are usually grandmothers, united into the women's association *(nsongwe)*, who lead the ceremony in which the girl is reintroduced into the community as a fertile woman and potential marriage

partner. So the people who surround the girl in this crucial phase of her life represent all the reproductive phases of a woman's life.

The Nsenga girl's period of seclusion ends on a festive note. The women's association calls for her at her hut and leads her in procession into the village. This is all accompanied with dancing and pantomime. The girl now shows the community the dances she has learned during her seclusion. This demonstration of dancing skill not only displays her beauty but also serves to perpetuate the performing arts, to which so much social importance is attached in Africa.

During the initiation both boys and girls learn to practise the various performing arts; at the same time the performing arts are used as a tool for teaching other things. Msimuku (1988:368) ascribes three functions to the use of songs, music and dance in the curriculum. First, they give messages of educational value to the trainee. Second, they provide a vehicle through which rules, instruction and announcements concerning this event are made. Third, they give a valuable source of entertainment, although such entertainment is not given for its own sake. The young people are introduced to specific forms of dance and music which will be used later on such important occasions as funerals, births, and harvest festivities.

In precolonial Africa the performing arts had a strong ritual function and also served purposes of entertainment and education. Dance, music, song, poetry and drama were used for intellectual, sexual and moral socialization and also to give instruction in practical skills. The transmission of myths strengthened young people's cultural identity. It prepared them for the future by teaching them the 'why' of social behaviour and societal traditions.

Telling stories was an important art in precolonial Africa and there was a wealth of tales about animals and people. Some told how things, customs or people had originated. Folk stories that were told and acted out illustrated what in the local culture was thought of as greed, deception, obedience, and what moral conflicts endangered relations within the community. Every story had a moral and explained something about 'good' behaviour.

Since it was so important to establish proper relations with the members of the community, very young audiences were taught how to greet someone, what gestures were appropriate to what occasions, how to show respect, how to ask for or offer something, how to sit in the presence of so-and-so. It was not by chance that playing grown-ups was the favourite game of children. Direct observation provided a basis for a process of creative learning in concrete or simulated situations. Theatrical presentations reinforced attitudes by offering positive role models to be imitated, or by satirizing negative behaviour and holding it up to scorn.

Indigenous education in Africa

Cultures in Africa are rather divergent. We know of the rich socio-politically complex, military organized kingdoms of the savannahs of West Africa, such as the Ashanti, the Benin, the Yoruba and the Hausa. But there are also the small hunting communities of the bushmen in the Kalahari Desert, or the pygmies in the tropical rainforest of Zaire and Cameroon. Can we really even speak of one African culture?

Even if the answer to that question is negative, there are still a number of similar features that keep recurring in the various African cultures, such as family structure, marriage and lineage system, religious system, world views, orientation of values, and production systems. After all, polygyny is a typical African cultural characteristic. Another one is authority, naturally assigned to men, and to older men in particular. Women and young people are hardly entitled to speak and should listen.

In that sense, there is a symbiotic relationship between culture and communication. Culture determines the codes, the context, and the meaning of communication. Whereas the 'elders' in Africa have the right to speak and express themselves verbally, the emphasis in the communication between old and young is mainly on the area of nonverbal communication: listening, observation, and imitation. Cultural transfer in African rural communities mainly takes place by way of interpersonal communication. Furthermore, the younger generation is also raised with the help of narrators, singers of ballads, and bards who, constantly, evoke images from the past.

Horizontal communication is based on a number of criteria, including age group, profession, and ethnic background. Conventions in the area of communication are based on standards and morals as the community knows them. According to Moemeka (1989:5-8), in the whole of Africa, south of the Sahara, these standards, morals, and values are derived from five basic principles, being: (1) the individual serves the community; (2) each individual has the right to be heard; (3) the community leader has unassailable authority; (4) older people are treated with respect; (5) religion and world view are strongly imbedded in everyday life.

Even though the individual's contribution to community life is not underrated, the community is regarded as of overriding importance over the individual. In return, the community feels responsible for the individual, for the sick, and for the widows. Furthermore, it is not regarded just a right, but even a duty, that each male adult expresses himself on community issues at public hearings. Only in that way can consensus in decision making exist.

In Africa, there is gerontocracy; the older people reign. The elders are expected to speak out of wisdom and to present good advice. That is why young people often need to acquiesce in their opinion. Thus, social organization is very much determined by age groups. Because religious beliefs and world views are so much part of African day-to-day life, a hard distinctive line between the sacred

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and the everyday life, the religious and the non-religious, the living and the dead cannot be drawn. And the elders of course - as age group - are closer to the ancestors.

Narration in African cultures is of a very dramatic, or rather, a theatrical nature. It may be a professional solo artist telling a story, somebody who makes a living out of telling stories, but it may also be any member of the community who has mastered the art of narration. A story is not told verbally only. It is told with the help of hands and feet, and the gestures, songs, and even the dancing, play an important role in the story.

This is evident, once one realizes that the audience, the community, probably knows the story inside out. The only interesting thing about the narration then, is the virtuosity with which the story is presented and the way in which the audience is provided with the opportunity to take part in this presentation. The narrator invokes response from the audience and gives them the opportunity to play the part of the choir in a musical game of questions and answers.

Moreover, the professional narrator has at his disposal an ensemble of musicians and dancers, whenever he needs them. He tells the story and links visualised scenes while masked dancers shape and act out the story. In (and outside) Africa, the mask is such a strong theatrical token that it almost makes the narrator redundant. The masks tell their own story whenever they are used in a parade or a dance, and whenever they are made to come to life.

Indigenous and traditional education

There are of course many different theories concerning education and upbringing. Often education is defined as 'a preparation for life', also interpreted as bettering one's economic condition. On the other hand, says H'Doubler (1957:60) some critics seem to feel that the aim of education is success in living - quite a different matter.

However, in every human society the purpose of education is to transmit from one generation to the next all available knowledge about the environment and about the social organization, its norms and the ideology behind it, plus skills for day-to-day survival and leisure time activities. No matter what culture a person grows up in, this is the general function of education, even though approaches may differ. In this context Herskovits (1973:30) speaks of schooling only when the learning process has been institutionalized and pupils receive lessons within an organization and from a specialist, graduating each year to a more complex curriculum.

The purpose of education, both general child rearing and schooling, is to make children familiar with their own culture so that they can function within that culture as grown-ups. For technically less advanced societies one speaks of indigenous or traditional education. This is education which has evolved within a culturally defined area and which is entirely appropriate for the local

circumstances of that area. What is taught is not so much original as it is authentic to the particular region:

> "(...) indigenous (...) education is complementary to, rather than a substitute for, school education. Its unique feature which distinguishes it from schooling is that it is a life-long process which benefits the young, youth, adults, elders -in short, the whole community" (Ocitti 1988:348).

Different from traditional or indigenous education[1] then is the 'advanced' specialized approach to learning in schools, through the mass media, or via complex laboratory lessons. Whereas modern education in the Euro-American tradition isolates the pupil from the rest of society -shutting him off in a school building- the process of traditional education is experienced more collectively. The persons who taught you and those with whom you were taught will not only stay with you all your life, but they are also the persons on whom you depend when you are in trouble.

The subject matter taught is closely related to what the learning process hopes to accomplish. Traditional education has four closely related subject areas: the natural environment, the social organization and how it works, the instruments

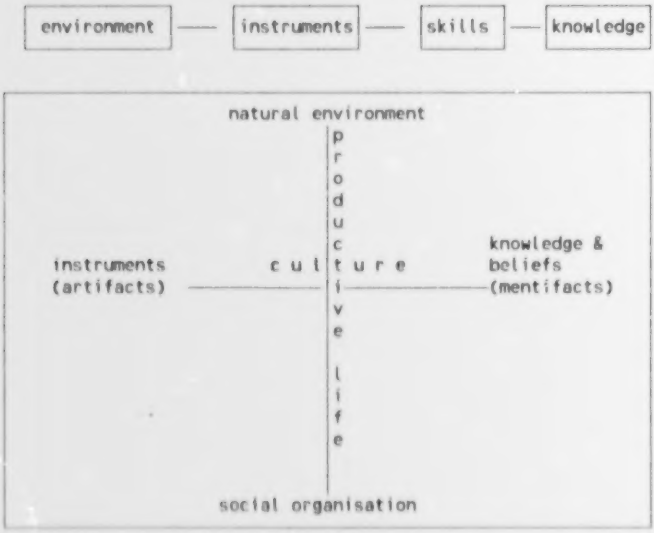

Figure 1: *Four related areas in traditional education*

needed for production and how to use them, and knowledge, moral beliefs and ethical views. Unlike what is taught in schools and other institutions, this subject

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matter is fully integrated into the very transmission of knowledge and skills. An understanding of nature, for example, cannot be separated from techniques of hunting or farming, nor from the related moral and religious values.

The indigenous learning process involves a minimum of technical teaching materials. Learning happens through listening, watching and doing: observation, imitation and practice. This is what Ocitti (1988:356) calls personally-initiated learning strategies. The pupil is surrounded by his teacher, the members of his family who follow every step of his progress, the 'pals' in his peer group, and finally by the community as a whole, in which everyone plays the double role of trainee and instructor.

Indigenous education is directed primarily towards imparting the practical skills and specialized knowledge that facilitate group survival. According to Ocitti (1988:348), a consequence of this principle is that at the end of the learning experience, the individual should be able to do something, not just know something. Learning takes place on the spot: in the field, at sea, in the forest, in the garden and in the house, involving whatever one will later be expected to know in that particular place. Finally, traditional education is clearly meant as vocational training, as a practical preparation for the later occupation, and this is true for both boys and girls.

The techniques used in traditional education are practical and concrete because they are linked to situations in the pupil's daily life. There are no abstract models, laboratories, or hypothetical situations for training or testing. An experiment is carried out in the real situation. The approach to teaching is geared towards direct applicability. Majasan (1975:430) reports that in order to reach these educational goals practical techniques are used such as concrete experiments and tests, initiation rites, apprenticeship, punishment and reward, and finally, techniques that could be referred to here as indirect learning: stories, riddles, proverbs, taboos, folklore, games, simulation and drama.

Initiation rites teach young people, within a specific space and during a clearly defined period of time, the practical, psychological, social, esoteric and intellectual skills they will need as adults in order to function within their culture. An initiation rite is in fact a mandatory crash course. In a very short time the individual learns essential social skills: who is who and how people should be approached; the why and wherefore of rites and ceremonies; but also practical things for daily life: fetching water, cleaning pots and pans. In this way pupils are taught responsibility and obedience.

Indigenous education in Africa[2] is, for a large part, inextricably linked with other sectors in community life, and in that sense, it is 'undifferentiated'; it is extremely pragmatic and socially relevant; it is very functional and directly usable; and it is geared towards the needs of the community rather than the needs of the individual.

In the indigenous educational system, a person goes through different successive age groups from the time he is born until the time he dies. These age

groups always mark the beginning of a new type of education. Indigenous education, mainly consists of informal and casual education. However, during one of life's more intensive periods - adolescence - there is formal school education as boys and girls are interned for an intensive and strictly organized crash course, which ends with their initiation as young adults in society.

The context of indigenous education is life itself. And as the child grows older, this 'life' and the child become socialized. In this sense, there is educational potential in almost every human action. However, in Africa, a taut differentiation exists in the training of boys and girls in the different age groups.

To both boys and girls, education at home and in school is profession-oriented. Boys are trained to be farmers, hunters, fishermen, warriors, dancers, lovers, and/or craftsmen, such as smiths. Girls are educated in farming, gardening, household activities, as lovers, and mothers-to-be. Both are taught good manners, like respect towards their elders and leaders, their ancestors, the graves and shrines, and other sacred places. They used to learn these practical and moral skills on the spot, during the hunt, or the preparation of food. Because there are no full-time professional teachers available, the small child will learn mainly from his baby sitters: his grandparents. During adolescence, boys are raised by their fathers and his contemporaries, and girls by their mothers and aunts. The age groups, consisting of initiated young adults, do not only educate each other, but are also still under the correcting influence of the elders.

In spite of all these positive notes, indigenous education in Africa, according to Mushi (1989: 87-93), also contained a number of shortcomings. It is remarkable that these shortcomings are strongly related to what others regard the strength of this type of education. Therefore, Mushi's intention is not so much to deny the important role of indigenous education, but rather to provide it with more relative and contextual values.

After all, the educators, the grown-ups and 'elders' in the community, were not too keen to accept changes in their shared system of values and standards that had been initiated by youngsters. Indigenous education discouraged students and their companions from questioning the how and the why. The individual was allowed to think for himself, but was not allowed to express his thoughts. Because of this, intellectual training only played a very modest role in traditional education. The emphasis was on the 'science of the concrete' and abstract thinking was excluded as much as possible.

So, the learning process was a linear one. The older people passed on their knowledge and skills to the young people, who, in the eyes of their elders, had no, or hardly any, (life) experience which would enable them to contribute to the learning process. The young were expected to listen and observe and certainly not to comment on the newly acquired knowledge. This pressure to conform, in many cases, resulted in a conservative view of society with little room for active social changes.

In line with this same world view, women were consequently rated less important than men. They were mainly seen as workers. In spite of their efforts, a lot was denied them by society, among which the right to their own opinion. This was also true for public hearings. Women were not expected to have their say in public. That would only embarrass the men.

Apprenticeship learning: mastering expressive and performative skills

According to Myer (1960:23) the 'apprenticeship method' is referring to "learning, in any field, by observation and imitation from other persons who are more accomplished than the learner". All persons learn their native language in this way by this method. In a similar way the child learns the attitudes towards things and ideas and his modes of behaviour towards other social creatures - in short, the whole customary ethic of his family and social group.

Apprenticeship learning, depending on learning by doing, evolves from an empirical learning approach, which requires of the farmer, the hunter, the craftsman, and the popular performing artist a *science du concret*; acute observation and an assessment of the properties of resources, materials and tools he is working with. The basis of this observation is sensory perception. In a storm a sailor navigates through the reefs judging the colour and shape of the wave crests. The sound of the saw or knife in cutting and carving indicates the sharpness of the tool. Quality promotion of bodily expression in performing arts is done by touch and body-to-body manipulation. In short, nature provides one of the basic skills for professional survival.

Most of the materials of a craftsman have their significant physical properties. The rings in a tree trunk indicate its age, knocking on wood will reveal some of its quality and texture. Most of these properties can be felt, seen or smelt. Learning the required skills in order to be able to deduce these properties is of utmost importance for a ship-builder or woodcarver. In the process of creation there is a sensory relationship between the manufacturer and the materials.

This sensory relationship between man and material also indicates the limitations of his knowledge of the environment, which knowledge is determined by the limits of sensory perception. In a closed universe this knowledge can be expanded only by the development of instruments which will enable man to enhance and refine his sensory perception. Without such technological developments new experiments and insights would be impossible.

It is by repeating such experiments that man establishes his power over matter. Repetition is essential for securing sequences of actions in the manufacturing process. This results in a number of irreversible stages of production, a working order based on a coherence discovered through trial-and-error.

Such sequences of actions require direct participation of the senses and the muscles in working with the resources, materials and tools. It also presupposes training to achieve precision of gestures and actions, and acquiring a balanced

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working style. These are physical skills transmitted during the production process.

The skill training process is not only characterized by sensory training, it is of a more physical nature as a whole. Physical assistance and co-operation are principal factors in the training. And apart from perception, observation, simulation and imitation, immediate tactile body-to-body guidance is underlined. By physical contact the tutor will frequently direct the untrained limbs of his apprentice, who thus feels, through the body of his teacher, what his limbs are expected to do in the working process.

Apprenticeship training is performative in nature, because the master shows or performs in a didactic way how skills should be mastered. It is also manipulative in nature, because the master not only uses verbal and visual means of instruction, but also tactile ways of manipulating the apprentice's limbs body-to-body to give it the 'right feeling' of skilfullness. At the intellectual level aids like symbols, models and simulation games are used to help the apprentice to capture and memorize the acquired knowledge.

The learning process generally starts with learning how to do some simple technical things. After that, a number of these things are gathered into sequences, the result of which is immediately visible. Gradually an insight into the working process is gained, and the technical complexity of the craft will become apparent. In apprenticeship learning the expressive aspect of the skill will not be dealt with until a later stage. The 'trade secrets' will not be revealed until the very end of the learning process. "To keep secrets about performing assumes that performance knowledge is powerful" (Schechner 1985:235). From the beginning, only the simple technical skills are learnt or trained, and these will not lead to an increase of knowledge until later.

Obviously learning by doing does not lead to competence until later age. In such working conditions there is little opportunity for reflection on techniques, methods and production stages. What matters in the majority of cases is the transition from the learning to the working process. Perhaps the pupil will learn one or two 'secrets' from his master, at a later date, but that is all there is to the learning process.

> "Apprenticeship is basically a process for transmitting know-how, since, together with the transmission of knowledge, apprenticeship involves the practical application of this knowledge, i.e. the transmission of skills" (Carton 1984:57).

In such learning processes it is the old masters rather than the young ones that manage to turn their knowledge, their wisdom and their secrets into objects of study, to discover the underlying principles of technique and production. Innovation, if at all, has its origin with the older generation of famous masters. It is they who control the endogenous process[3] of innovation without outside

intervention. Contrary to what is commonly assumed, the driving powers in this type of learning process are not the youngsters, but a limited set of old folks.

Richard Schechner (1985:229-253) wondered what the functions of a performer's training are in the context of apprenticeship learning. He distinguished six functions: (1) mastering the specific techniques, (2) mastering the 'score' of the performance, (3) the development of self- expression, (4) learning to operate in and as a group, (5) the interpretation of the plot and of stylization, and (6) the transmission of performance 'secrets'.

In many cultures the bits and pieces of performative craftsmanship have to be mastered before there is any question of experiments[4]. The first demand of the training is to reach technical virtuosity. Only later, much later an expressive or interpretative component is added. And only the old masters have the authority to introduce small, minimal changes in the age-old interpretations without effecting a breach of style. For years the young are taught by the old not to deviate an inch from the old traditions.

Theatre and social change

It is obvious that western thinkers who advocate modernization tend to use tradition and modernization as unbridgeable oppositional terms and associate them with the countryside and the city. Schipper (1983:29) rightfully remarks that most people living in the Third World in a similar situation do not in the least experience traditional and modern society, or rather countryside and city as unbridgeable worlds.

Modern societies are characterized by continuous transformation. Permanent change and linear development have become essential criteria for a society which desires to remain part of a modern world. In modern society, according to Locher (1971:235) it is all about the permanent ability to produce a continuous flow of changes. 'Transformation' has become one of the main traditions of modern society.

The Euro-American cultural tradition is based on the principle of continual transformation. According to this principle creativity is seen as the ability to introduce changes continually: collective or personal, sudden or gradual (Schechner 1985:253). In this continual pursuit of innovation, performative trends develop at a tremendous speed.

In the Euro-American tradition, creativity and originality in the artistic process is greatly appreciated. New interpretations of plays, of the use of space, of acting, of music and dance are diligently pursued. Apparently it is found less interesting to repeat or reconstruct more or less exactly a performance that took place two years or two centuries ago. An old play is given a 'face-lift', or at least a 'cosmetic treatment' in order to bring it up to date.

Here creativity is associated with the radical change which is the privilege of youth. This is opposed to the field of traditional genres. Tradition knows a strong

cyclic awareness of time for change, such as the changing of the seasons and the elementary life cycles of man. Fundamental changes or transformations are most certainly acknowledged, but obtain a place in the past. We see then that traditional societies continuously want to classify and place changes within a continuity from the past, whereas modern societies rather see change as a purpose and a continuous thread for the future. Both have an eye for change and reforms, but approach them in different ways.

Throughout the centuries and in various parts of the world theatre has been used transferring all kinds of information and knowledge, as a useful instrument both for instruction and entertainment. Theatre as a vehicle for non-formal education in Third World countries has attracted more and more attention. Why? Because, as entertainment, it is to the liking of groups of the population who have a dislike for the traditional attitudes to adult education and development. Also because, as an 'oral medium' in the local language, it appeals to and involves those audiences which either through problems of illiteracy or through a lack of knowledge of the national language are kept out of development activities. At the same time it is a means of cultural expression which everyone within the community knows and controls. The message to be put across becomes an integral part of an entertainment as well as part of an enjoyable social occasion. Finally it is a public or social activity which brings together the village population and which creates a context for co-operative thinking and action.

Besides paying attention to the continuance of what was known in the fifties as tribal culture and what is being called indigenous culture in the seventies and eighties, attention is also paid to the rise of a national culture or rather a national identity[5]. The image of a national cultural heritage is a central issue here. However, it is hard to characterize the national culture as an indigenous culture because there are more indigenous cultures within one nation. Because the whole does not equal the sum of its parts we can hardly say that the national culture of a country is the common denominator of all indigenous cultures in that country.

That is why one rather speaks of an endogenous cultural-development. On the one hand, the adjective 'endogenous' is different from 'indigenous' because the first is more connected with the cultural identity of a society which characterizes itself by its nationhood, whereas the second term points to a society which characterizes itself by its shared culture. On the other hand, the terms indigenous and endogenous are different from exogenous with regard to developments that have grown more from the inside, autonomous and authentic, than from outside influences. However, these terms are no more than indicators that serve, merely, to mark cultural phenomena and expressions in time and space. For the bearers of culture, the participants in a culture, the terms are of even less value, because they do not live by these distinctions.

Indigenous, endogenous and exogenous cultural-components are an integral part of our daily lives. That is why some people can speak with as much enthusiasm about dances that are performed at the wedding of a nephew in a

small village in the province, as about the adventures in the disco during the weekend or about the dances in *West Side Story* in the main playhouse of the municipality.

The workshop: a creative and collective learning method

The last three decades a participatory and collective approach is often opted for in the field of problem solving and other adult education activities. Problem-solving is perceived as a creative learning process to teach self-reliance to the communities involved. People learn to 'translate' their insecurities into risks. The most suitable didactic form to realise awareness-raising and collective action still is the workshop.

Central to workshops is the performative function of 'learning by doing'. Workshops may serve a number of purposes: personal development, acquiring skills and knowledge, therapeutic purposes, and research in the interest of future action. A second feature of workshops is the collective and participatory working method. Didactically speaking the workshop approach is mostly used as an action-research tool:

> "The workshop is a way of playing around with reality, a means of examining behaviour by re-ordering, exaggerating, fragmenting, recombining and adumbrating it. The workshop is a protected time\space where intra-group relationships may thrive without being threatened by inter-group aggression" (Schechner 1977:60).

The usual process of problem-solving in a workshop is by a 'deconstruction' of problems[6]. This deconstruction is not merely meant as an intellectual group exercise. It really affects the attitudes, hence the lives of the participants. Group discussion, observation, simulation, socio-drama, and case-studies are used as techniques. Awareness-raising and exercises serve to make a profound and collective analysis of problems, and to remove all pseudo-personal causes.

As a rule there are four stages in the workshop process: breach, crises, redressive action and reintegration. The breach means breaking away from ordinary ways of thinking and behaving, signalling the start of the workshop. This explains why it usually takes place outside the normal working environment of the participants. Crisis and regressive action are the motive forces of the workshop. Each session provokes a crisis in attitudes and behaviour with respect to the problems and answers in question, which call for regressive action. The object of this core element of the workshop is to deconstruct all components of the problem, which are eventually to be reconsidered and rearranged for the purpose of an action strategy of the problems involved. The stage of reintegration comes up when the newly-acquired knowledge and skills are taken home to the

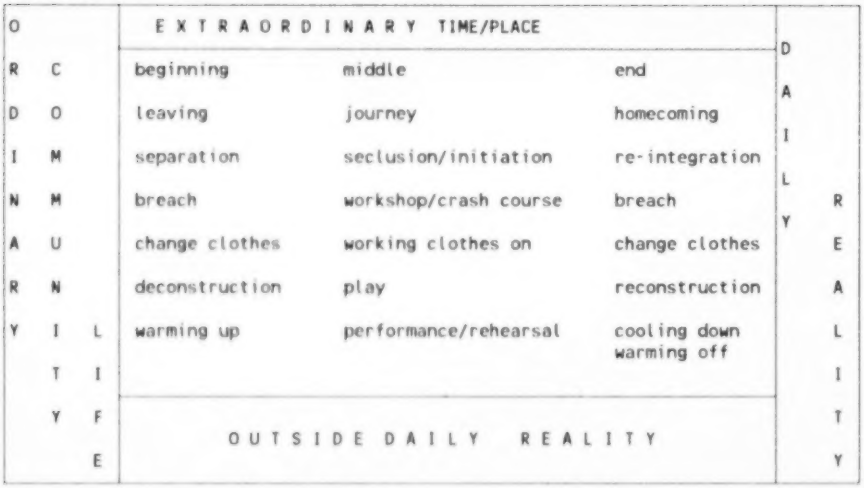

Figure 2: *Play and the daily life*

community for further trial and application. It means, in fact, a return to the familiar world of the daily social context.

A unique feature of the workshop approach is that participants get mutually acquainted on a basis of equality, seeing that the workshop has the common goal of solving their problem. Attitudes and information with respect to the problem must be generalised. Impulses flow freely, at this stage, associations are made across time and space, without regard to previous outside hierarchies and obligations.

The workshop thus breaks away from the accustomed construction of reality. During the workshop period social reality is first deconstructed, later to be reconstructed along new lines. On returning home the participants have gained a fresh view of social reality, in their work, their skills, their production possibilities, their history and their future. The power of the workshop approach is play: the 'pretend' situation.

According to Mauriras-Bousquet (1991:7), the urge to play is determined by a person's curiosity about himself in relation to his surroundings. That is why those scholars who study animal social behaviour (ethologists) also refer to the 'exploration urge' which determines the playing. All animals explore their direct surroundings to some extent. And apparently without reason. Yet, through explorations, one gets to know his social as well as physical surroundings. This means that one knows escape routes to be used at times of emergency. In that way, play provides security. Or rather, it solves a number of insecurities, because these insecurities have been explored with the help of games.

Insecurity, like fear is based on an indefinable feeling. Avoiding insecurity should, therefore, according to Hofstede (1991:48), not be confused with avoiding risks. Risks are not indefinable. Running risks is something very down to earth. In Hofstede's view, insecurity is to risk as anxiety is to fear. Fear and risk are, after all, both aimed at something specific: in the case of fear at an object, in the case of risk at an event. As soon as anxiety turns into something real, insecurity ends, but risks increase. And that is what a workshop environment is often used for.

According to Schechner (1985:290) the creative approach of problem-solving by a workshop method may be summed up as follows:

1. To detach consequences from actions so that the actions can be 'acted out' safely, under 'controlled' circumstances, in a nurturing environment, a permissive environment.
2. To try combinations of behaviour that in ordinary circumstances would not be tried.
3. To reduce anxiety.
4. To express aggression safely and harmlessly.
5. To gain experiences.
6. To develop group solidarity.
7. To integrate personality.
8. To experience flow - autotelic pleasure.

Although the power of the workshop is play "that's not to say there is no anxiety or no rules in workshops, but these are de-emphasized; things that are done and said in the context of the project at hand 'count for nothing'. In a workshop much more is 'thrown away' than 'kept' (...)" (Schechner 1985:290-291). Within the over-all context of problem-solving as a creative learning process, workshops play a modest though vital role.

Final remarks

Which are the most curious and exploratory animals on earth? The animals which spread most widely across the world. The 'cosmopolitan' species, those that creatively adapted to climates and knew how to increase their chances of survival. The most cosmopolitan species turned out to be 'man', the *homo ludens*, the playing man. And the way in which man adapted to a wide range of surroundings became the area of study for cultural and social anthropologists.

Following Hofstede (1991:332), cultural or social anthropology here is understood to mean that field of the social sciences that studies man in his physical, social and cultural diversity, within the context of his society. Society is, of course, a fairly abstract and broad concept. In everyday life, no human being feels he is part of something as vague and obscure as a society, he is part

of a working environment, a church, a company, enterprise, or organization, a board, trade union, or parents' committee.

These are the people in your direct surroundings, with whom you share something and who live by the same social rules and conventions. Studying these rules and conventions, the value attached to them, the philosophies behind them, and the 'sanctions' for not abiding by these rules, constitutes the field of study of an anthropologist, who people often, mistakenly, regard as an other-worldly scientist, who only travels to the most remote and alien parts of the globe to study the rituals of exotic and almost extinct nations.

However, the main interest of an anthropologist as a trained social observer is culture. And culture is popular. Everybody wants it. Countries are proud of their national culture, and, within Europe, countries even compete to make their capital Europe's cultural capital. Sports championships are now joined by culture championships. Real culture is no longer subject to high quality requirements. Mass culture is, in fact, a concept that is no longer used, since television is regarded as a serious medium which can be addictive for anyone, and not just the man in the street who cannot afford to have a taste for distinction.

A medium such as television pays serious attention to street culture. Especially because ratings are important, and more and more programmes are developed for the various 'taste' groups and subcultures among the apparent passive and anonymous consumers of the mass media.

Besides, there is the problem of other cultures forcing themselves upon us. Once, Spanish or Greek food used to remind one of an exotic, vacation spent far away. Now, vacation destinations, and with them, appreciation of indigenous cooking styles, seem to attract an increasing deal of attention, judging from the flourishing Thai, Egyptian and Indian restaurants appearing in metropolitan Holland. These restaurants try to create the homeland's authentic atmosphere both through interior decorations and service. Even if this has to be established with the help of plastic flowers, grapes, empty Chianti bottles or pre-printed wall paper.

It is what the consumer wants: *the real thing*. Yet, no one will be surprised to find that 'real' is negotiable. Latin American indians playing their country's folk music, dressed in western shiny shorts, are really not authentic enough (because of the way they are dressed) to perform during the Holland Festival.

The bottom line, which does not appear to be negotiable, is the difference between what the consumer experiences as nature and what he experiences as culture. Nature always seems pure, untainted, not negotiable, good, true, direct and so on and so forth. Negotiating with nature is impossible. In nature, among animals, food is eaten without consideration of menus, serving styles, choice of dishes and table manners. In nature, sexual intercourse takes place without the mediation of eroticism at a cultural level. In nature, the bodily waste is disposed of without regard for sanitary rules. In nature, a being dies because it is burnt up,

or simply because it is the weakest. In nature, everything is immediate. Lies do not exist. In nature everything is authentic.

However, this bottom line of 'authenticity' does not solve our problem. People find 'authenticity' frightening and threatening. That is why the word obtained a second meaning. It means individuality as well as originality. 'Being the most authentic' means the same as 'being the most original'. And this creates a problem because what is most original can never be decided by way of experiments. Origin, after all, always belongs to history. And history will always remain a reconstruction of what actually happened once. In spite of all the historical reconstruction techniques and the support from the hard sciences in the determination of chronology, part of the determination of originality is coloured by representation, the way in which we learned, unconsciously, to look at and respect the sources of history. And these are 'romantically' coloured. In brief, culture determines our thinking about history, and history determines our thinking about culture.

So, if we understand culture to mean a whole of a shared body of ideas, behavioral conventions and products which have been passed on from generation to generation so as not to disappear, then many cultures coexist. Not only does every society have its own culture, but also every club, organization, or institute within that society. That is why we speak of corporate cultures, referring to public institutions such as Social Services departments, theatre companies, the water and electricity company, a municipal or national museum, as well as commercial companies. These are all so-called subcultures with their own customs, services, products and ideas.

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Avant-garde and popular theatre: a Cry of Asia

In the performance *Cry of Asia* (1989), fifteen progressive artists took part, who, in their own country, belong to the *avant-garde* and who dedicate themselves to giving their oppressed fellow countrymen a better grip on life through art. Every single one of them produces progressive popular theatre.

The term popular theatre has been given different meanings in the course of history. In a Dutch context, the meaning is fairly clear-cut. The English 'popular theatre', as opposed to the Dutch term, is an ambiguous notion, because, on the one hand, it describes artistic products (clog dance, hip-hop, tango) that come from a folk environment, on the other hand, it describes those products that the culture industry develops for the common consumer (soap, photo-novels, pulp literature). 'Folk theatre' usually refers to rural theatre genres and forms, while 'popular theatre' is used for urban genres. And finally, the post-war notion of 'people's theatre' refers to politicized popular theatre.

From a historical point of view, popular theatre seems to have developed from within, parallel to the growth of the cities and the rise of the middle class in the early industrial societies. Its function was to comment on these social changes, such as life in the city, modernisation and the decline of traditional values and standards, or on the 'helpless anachronism' of the backward rural areas. The commentary on society that popular theatre provides does not always have to be progressive. It is not always aimed at reforms, revolts or opposition. It can also be of a conservative nature, or it can stand for the maintenance of specific cultural identity.

A specific type of popular theatre is theatre aimed at development, or 'theatre for development', which, intentionally, tries to intervene in processes of social change. The use of this kind of theatre can vary from consciousness raising campaigns to pure propaganda. Until recently, most initiatives in the field were based on *ad hoc* decisions. 'Theatre for development' initiatives are far from being institutionalised. However, one of the starting points is that, during the artistic process and the performances, social problems are not only discussed, but the audience is set on a track to solve these problems. It is assumed that there will be reflective and persuasive interaction between audience and actors during the performances.

The artists who participated in *Cry of Asia*, belong to the top artists who, since long, have dedicated themselves to more dignified circumstances in their countries with the help of art. With the introduction of progressive popular theatre and theatre for development and by organizing workshops for local communities, they aim to stimulate the development of those groups in society that are lagging behind. "Their performances, and particularly their workshops,

have come to mean, more and more, an addition to the activities of development work that is aimed at social, economic or technological development" (Van Erven 1989:43). They use their stage expertise for the benefit of theatre for development and as a tool for literacy projects in the country, consciousness-raising projects, women's programmes, projects on autonomy and empowerment, etc..

For the last ten years or so, culture has played a growing part in the dynamic changes that are taking place in Asia and the Pacific. By showing themselves on stages in the big cities, as well as in the slums and in the country, the progressive artists have developed into important instigators of processes of social change. The artists of *Cry of Asia* have a lot of experience in running the so-called 'cultural action workshops', in which art manifestations are used to give people more say in and control over their own existence, and to support the feeling of a strong cultural identity.

Plot and story line of the Cry of Asia performance

The tyrannical and cruel high priest Inao enters into a pact with the demonic bird Minokawa to better dominate his tribe and to take power over the neighbouring nations. After concluding the devil's pact, the old and cripple Inao is healed and can suddenly walk again. Meanwhile the people have to suffer all kinds of disasters. The water buffaloes and pack animals die by the dozen and pregnant women have miscarriages. Suwana is one of the young village women who loses her baby this way. The river of life, that was once so clear, is now coloured blood-red. The next morning thousands of dead fish float in the water. Inao, in the meantime, convinces the people that they should stand by him, in a ritual to appease the gods. His regained youth proves his right in the eyes of the people. Together with the age-old spirit Nuno sa Punso, Suwana consults the oracle and discovers that Inao's great ritual will only cause disaster.

Suwana tells Inao about the oracle. But it is too late. The people are in a trance. Seized by panic, Suwana challenges Inao to a ceremonial battle of the spirits. Three days of fighting pass and then, at midday, the earth starts to tremble. Suwana goes into a swoon from sheer exhaustion and the crowd wildly cheers. An eerie lamentation fills the air as Suwana crawls away from the crowd. The sound rises to a deafening crescendo and suddenly, out of the blue, an enormous, monstrous bird appears, the Minokawa, with his army of devils who are hiding behind red masks. The first act Minokawa performs is that of eating the sun. An eclipse and silence follow. The crowd is captivated.

Suwana looks on the events with sorrow and flees to the gnome Nuno sa Punso, to ask for help. Nuno presents her with a burning stone and a necklace with a hundred bells and orders her to get branches from the holy tree. He also asks her to bring a flock of birds from the same tree. Suwana goes into the jungle, prays to the spirit of the holy tree and then breaks off a couple of

branches. Suddenly a flock of birds descends on her and together they return to the place of the celestial spectacle.

The Minokawa installs Inao as the absolute ruler and in the everlasting twilight the people lose all their liberties and ties with nature. The hundreds of Diablos dominate life. Like convicts, the common people are forced to produce weapons. On the eve of the imminent war, Suwana, with her flock of birds, turns against Inao. She secretly summons the people to gather on Nuno's hill to carry out a collective ceremony of prayers. She piles up the sacred branches and lights them with Nuno's burning stone. The huge fire attracts the attention of Minokawa and the Diablos. In the twilight, the final contest between Suwana and her birds and Minokawa and his Diablos takes place.

In the middle of the battle, Suwana throws her necklace of bells in the crowd. The people then perform a dance of chiming bells while the fire is blazing higher and higher. Beside the sound of bells, the swelling sound of drums is suddenly heard. Suwana changes into an enormous bird and in her last attack she kills Minokawa. Just before the monster bird dies, the sun slowly rises out of his belly. When the sun regains full strength, the Diablos flee. The people then burn all the war machines in the holy fire and destroy the walls that had been built around the camp.

In this spectacular final, the peace army, carrying white fans, ultimately succeeds in chasing away the devils, Inao and Minokawa, in a last battle and to free the nation from slavery.

A modern indictment within a traditional setting

The above is the summarized plot of the performance of *Cry of Asia*. The story is, in fact, already known in the whole of Asia. It is the story of the everlasting battle between good and evil, based on the *Mahabharata* epos. From India to Indonesia, this story is deeply entrenched in the collective national heritage. It provides material for various theatre genres, of which the *wayang* in all its forms is only one example.

The universal epic themes that surface in the play, such as 'good' and 'evil', can traditionally be translated into 'light' and 'dark'. Evil lives in the dark, in permanent twilight which cannot endure daylight or fire. Evil practices, such as preparation for total war, take place in the dark. Another epic theme is the pact with the devil, which we are so familiar with from the various stories and films based on Doctor Faust and Mephisto, that can be found in the North Atlantic tradition.

From the *Mahabharata* epos other elements have been borrowed, such as the 'tree of life', 'the river of life' and the 'sacrificial ceremony' to win the goodwill of the divine powers. When, at the end of the play, Suwana changes into a large bird bringing salvation, it is reminiscent of Garuda, the rescuing bird in the *Mahabharata*. The final epic 'battle' *(bharata yudha)* is also a given from this

epos. And, of course, the theme of solar eclipse occurs often and elaborately in the *Mahabharata*; the sun which is in danger of being consumed by the dregs of creation. The monster is discovered, just on time, by Shiwa, who sends an arrow through his gullet and thus preserves the earth from eternal darkness.

However, the story of *Cry of Asia* also has obvious connections with the present and serves as an allegory. Leaders, such as Inao, dictatorial prime ministers and manipulators of the people, are no strangers to Asian audiences. The nation which, continually adopts a vulnerable attitude towards this kind of dictatorships is also a familiar given. One nation slaughtering another is still a daily news item. Then there is the armament issue, which is illustrated by the people performing hard labour, forced to produce weapons instead of crops. Related to this is the environmental problem, which materializes in the actions of the gnome Nuno sa Punso, spirit of the clean earth.

A number of traditional stage genres have been incorporated into the performance. The ceremonial battle of the spirits between Suwana and Inao, for instance, was represented by a particular form of *wayang* theatre, the *wayang wong*; epic stories were acted out and danced by actors. In addition, the fifteen actors from Asia and the Pacific, built into the performances, their specific folk traditions of masks, puppet play and ethnic dance, music and theatre. The Korean actor who enacted Nuno, for instance, mastered the *pansori* singing technique. Puppet players from Bangkok and India also participated in this spectacle, as did a Tamil actor from Sri Lanka, a dancer from Bali, musicians from the Philippines and New Zealand and actors from the famous Black Tent Theatre from Tokyo.

Finally, the idea of a theatre train is an authentic Asian theme. The best known 'long marches' in history are, no doubt, those of Gandhi and Mao. As Van Erven (1984:44) indicated, this cultural train resembled what is known in India as a *jatha*, a cultural march in the shape of a travelling festival, of a large procession, which travels from city to city, as a peaceful protest, to enter into a dialogue with the local population, night after night, through performances, presentations and workshops.

Censorship and artistic oppression

When, under Marcos, military power prevailed on the Philippines, political theatre could only be performed in the country. In the city it would be a hazardous business. The subversive message, at the very least, had to be cloaked in a theatrical style that complied with the cultural standards of the elite. This could vary from an adaptation of Brecht, a performance against nuclear tests in the Pacific, to a historical piece on power relations during the Spanish rule, and cast into a living theatre style from that period: the Zarzuela. The respectable appearance of the *avant-garde* theatre groups in the city, in fact, concealed the resistance to the regime which those very groups displayed in their activities in

the country. It was 'resistance theatre' or 'theatre of liberation' which implicitly functioned as political opposition.

Avant-garde is a notion that has been used since the end of the last century to describe politically radical artists who believed in the role of art in processes of social change[1]. Originally, it was a military term for the storm troops that marched ahead of the 'garde'. Actors were, in fact, used as such during the Russian Revolution. According to Ellenbroek (1989:11), actors performed their agitprop theatre for the front troops. As it turned out, in the first half of the twentieth century, *avant-garde* was associated with a number of (often contradictory) culturally radical '-isms', such as dadaism, futurism, expressionism, formalism, surrealism and absurdism. The *avant-garde*, or, the modernists, are usually judged on those issues they resist according to their manifests.

Trouble-makers and rebels do not comply with political establishment. The *avant-garde*, not surprisingly, was the butt of censorship. It was, after all, opposed to the prevailing function of art and theatre in the bourgeois society. Not only the function of art had to change, so did society. Following experiments in the Soviet Union, *avant-garde* originally went in the direction of socialism. However, after the first reports about the role of art under Stalin, this left-wing enthusiasm steadily dwindled. As a result of these reports, *avant-garde* became a more general protest against the commercialized culture industry, which attributed only a marginal social role to art.

Because experiment and politics are well-matched in *avant-garde*, the State kept a close watch on it. *Avant-garde* is still, as in Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia and other Asian countries, a target of intimidation practices of the various authorities. "For some artists their national popularity gives protection against this violence, but many an artist from Asia was imprisoned, tortured or killed in the past years" (Van Erven 1989:43). In view of these activities, it is best, according to Bronkhorst (1986:63-63), to use article nineteen of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as a starting point in the approach to artistic intimidation and censorship.

> "Every one has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers".

From a human rights point of view, any form of censorship and intimidation is an injustice.

In artistic censorship, it is a matter of opinions, or reconstructions of events, that are presented in an artistic way. The public is most sensitive to this type of censorship. Bronkhorst (1986:65) even states that the international sense of justice is most strongly expressed on freedom of expression when it deals with opinions that are not even defended, but only symbolized[2].

According to Schipper (1988:28), information, literature and theatre can have a great impact and make politicians very nervous. Censorship is the most obvious sedative. There is a lot of hypocrisy in this area. The work of the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o, for instance, could appear freely as long as it was written in English, but it was banned when the author used an indigenous language. Such risks are not unfamiliar to the individual artists from the *Cry of Asia* crew. Some of them have a clear dissident status in their own country.

Orality: the text has to sound familiar[3]

It is striking that all artists from *Cry of Asia* were very familiar with narrative traditions. They were almost all 'narrators', adept at telling stories from the oral tradition of their cultures. Such a story is not only recited, but sung, danced and performed through music. This is not exceptional for actors from Asia and Oceania. Their cultures know very strong oral traditions which, in spite of all sorts of literacy campaigns, still exceed the importance of the written tradition. According to Teeuw (1985:11), texts, therefore, form a communal property, open to manipulation, adaptation and re-creation in a performance. Like in the *Cry of Asia* performance.

It is also notable how many of these artists, among whom the Australian Aborigines, the Philippine Kalinga and the Maoris from New Zealand, make out a strong case for the oral tradition from their own ethnic background. When we go through the backgrounds of the fifteen actors from *Cry of Asia*, we are struck by the fact that they are all at home in one or more traditional stage disciplines from their own culture. This can vary from singing, music and dance of the Kalinga-tribe (Philippines), traditional Korean *madang* (masks, percussion and dance), contemporary Maori W'aiata music (New Zealand), Thai puppet play and mask dance, Yakshagana dance-drama (India) and traditional Balinese dance to Lok Rahas popular theatre from the Punjab (India).

All these styles of popular theatre belong to oral tradition. Thus it becomes clear to us that *avant-garde* in Asia has obvious roots in its own cultural background and heritage. This not only goes for politically engaged *avant-garde*, such as the artists from *Cry of Asia*, but also for artists who have a less ideological involvement in political-economic issues in their country. An example of this last group is the Indonesian actor, playwright and poet Rendra, of whom Teeuw (1978:12) claimed that he does not pass clear ideological criticism on one group or authority in particular.

Even if *avant-garde* movements tend to expose plays, manifests and poems through writing, it still holds that, as with the old myths and folk tales, the oral interpretation makes the story or poem into art. In Asia, texts have always been meant for singing, recital, or performance in one or other form of theatre. Teeuw (1985:10) concisely summarizes the stage experience of literature:

> "Literature is (...) a joint experience; reading is reading together, listening, watching, sometimes playing, singing, dancing, because all these forms of art cannot be distinguished easily. In any case, poetry has to sound literal and derives its authenticity from the human voice, which connects, unites, brings together as opposed to writing, which divides, separates and individualizes."

Teeuw clearly indicates that even if texts are written, the human voice, the oral presentation, the joint experience dominates its functioning. This is not only true for Indonesia, it is obviously true for the whole of Asia.

Asian avant-garde and Brecht

A number of the performing artists participating in the *Cry of Asia* event devoted themselves, in the past, to Brecht's interpretations of and his ideas on 'epic theatre'. In their home countries they are involved in politically committed theatre. Their interest in Brecht (perhaps contrary to expectations) is not so much in his *Lehrstücke* as in the narrative tradition of his epic work. It is not surprising that this dimension of Brecht's ideas was particularly successful in Asia[4]. After all, it is in his epic work that Brecht has fully developed the narrative function of theatre and bid the 'fourth wall' - the one that 'separates' actors and audience - farewell. Building a 'fourth wall' during performances in Asia would mean certain death to popular theatre, which existence is based on a strong dialogue between actors and audience.

However, the *Cry of Asia* artists do not fully escape from Brecht's *Lehrstücke* tradition. Almost half of them were involved in the past, in one way or another, in development-supporting theatre activities in adult education at community level. The participants in the Japanese Black Tent Theatre have been working this way for years. Yet, artists have also devoted time to rural development and to projects for specific target groups such as women, young people, (drug) addicts, indigenous population groups and children.

The Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA), for instance, in its educational theories, expands on Brecht's dramatic ideas in its 'aesthetics of poverty'. One notices that, in Asian interpretations of Brecht, the action is consistently translated into a local context. This not only goes for the story, but also for the music and dancing. As a spectator, one slowly starts to believe that Brecht is Chinese, Indian or Filipino. According to Licher (1987:8), Asia appears to be able to change Brecht in such a way that he becomes recognizable. This can also be found in the way in which the Japanese Masahiko Uchizawa staged Brecht's 'The sadness of the Worker (Labourer)' in the red-light district of Tokyo.

Final remarks

The western *avant-garde* which wanted its art to mean something to society, has, as far as its political efficacy goes, always been nipped in the bud by the bourgeoisie. The work of the *avant-garde*[5] was soon described as 'innovative', 'prominent' or 'interesting', and the artist was given an exposition, a grant or a prize for his (complete) works. Because of this, revolt was quickly nullified by success and economic profit. An essential difference between the *avant-garde* of the sixties and that of the twenties (in the Soviet Union and in Germany) is, therefore, a final rift between politically utopian and artistically experimental enthusiasm. However, as a number of Asian theatre experiments show, stylistic experiments and ideological devotion do not have to exclude one another. In *Cry of Asia* the *avant-garde* theatre maker can be characterized as someone who pursues change and innovation: artistically as well as socially.

As for the influence of Brecht on contemporary Asian *avant-garde*, Licher (1987:6) states that there is much less of a 'Brecht fatigue' than there is in the North Atlantic world. He ascribes this fatigue in North and West to the lack of a topical political conception in western drama, a lack which has existed since the seventies. This is true to a lesser degree in Asia.

It is striking however, that the social involvement of Asian theatre makers is no longer based on a persuasive monologue on the side of the actors, as it was in the sixties and seventies. Language as a means of persuasion has become less important. The performance of *Cry of Asia* is visual and physical, and therefore associatively expressive. The narrative element in the performance is 'open'. The spectator can fill in the images for himself. Moreover, different stage disciplines are used at the same time and the entire structure is based on an intercultural exchange of the stage techniques mastered by the actors. In Asia, the *avant-garde* is still at home in popular theatre styles and with a common audience.

3.
From didactics to aesthetics: 'alienation' and the theatre of the eighties

A large number of writings about the development of political drama begins its flash-back in 1968. Could activating drama only spring from that generation's revolts, engaging in the dismantlement of undemocratical institutions within society? The road to democracy is an expensive one, and finances are lacking. Did, in those days, the policy-makers dispose of sufficient money and a wide enough margin to leave room for these tendencies? Or does the present-day theatre audience no longer appreciate the didactic element, which was to lead the way towards a growing political or liberational consciousness? Is the audience becoming more bourgeois, or is it inundated with enough critical television-drama? Or did the theatre-groups realize that their message at least had to be wrapped in an appealing form?

Unlike other forms of cultural expression, in which the individual creator has played a central role since the Renaissance, theatre is still essentially collective action. The simultaneous participation of actors and audience is what counts. With the tone set by an expansionist Europe where the process of industrialisation affected society by increasing urbanisation, the division of labour, and specialisation into separate areas of expertise and skill, both public spectacles and theatre were slowly but surely driven into closed spaces. To attend a performance one had to pay admission. This was the first step towards commercialising theatre and making it something for the elite. Renaissance theatre architecture placed a separation between the stage and the audience, which resulted in the actors becoming the mere translators of an autonomously portrayed fiction. This process of creating distance between players and audience changed the structure of the performances and plays, the nature of the communication with the audience, and the organisation of the acting profession.

Be that as it may, the supply of theatre of the eighties was not anymore that of the seventies. Especially not in the Netherlands. Groups which occupied themselves with political activating drama in the 70's, were threatened with the recalling of state-endowment and have vanished. The theatre groups which occupied themselves in various areas in the Netherlands with activating drama to support the socially less endowed groups in their emancipation process have gradually disappeared. Professional groups slowly shifted the focus from contents to form again, and each of them was fighting its individual struggle for subsidies. The collective into which these groups were united in the 70's, the 'Cultural Front', felt obliged to change method and aim and finally ceased to be.

In the seventies a growing schism existed between 'repertory-theatre' and activating drama in the North Atlantic and especially the Dutch theatre world. In the first case, theatre was an aim in itself, in the second, theatre was used to give an artistic form to a drama-performance which was meant to function socially. It was characteristic for the difference that theatre either generally aimed at the public frequenting theatre regularly, or in particular at a special target group which never went to see a performance. Groups attracted to activating drama left the well equipped play-houses and started looking for their own audience in their specific environments, which could be determined geographically (in a certain neighbourhood for instance) or socially (prisoners, nursing-staff, youth or women for instance). Their performances had to do with problems present in the social and cultural backgrounds of their audience, and aimed at a modest contribution to a process of growing consciousness and change and finally perhaps at action. Whatever the target group, the contact with the audience was very intense. The performance was closely linked to the social reality of the audience. Therefore these groups created their own productions collectively, in which everyone had one's say and the hierarchical relation between director and actors was avoided. It goes without saying that simple means were used. One had to do without complicated scenery, lighting or sound.

This trend did not make things easier for the theatre-critics, drama-schools and drama-scholars. Even though the groups had definite resemblances in their methods, there were nevertheless in the mid-seventies as many views as there were groups. Was one to label them political theatre, didactic theatre, activating drama, or people's theatre? Many intermediary forms were introduced, which made it even more complex.

In an interview with Proloog, one of the first activating drama-groups in the Netherlands, the group claimed to have carried the notion of drama as a means to support the social struggle of the oppressed and to stimulate discussions, as for example in their play *We don't take it any more* (1974-1975).

In the seventies Proloog was also looking for a certain performing style and they thought they had found it in a combination of two styles at the same time. One was to analyse and explain with songs, comments, and grotesk theatrical characters; the other one was to reflect upon everyday life realistically.

Adaptation and detachment: a closer look at techniques

From the mid-thirties onwards, Brecht dissociated himself with his 'epic theatre' performances from the current views on realism. Through 'alienation' techniques and other shock-effects Brecht wanted to make reality recognizable and accessible to his audiences. He felt that theatre was in danger of becoming sheer entertainment for the visitors of the regular play houses looking for diversion; the only way to avoid this from happening Brecht felt was to bring in the anti-illusory *Verfremdungseffekt*[1]. According to Bloch (1970:121-123),

"the *Verfremdungseffekt* now occurs at the displacement or removal of a character or action of its usual context, so that the character or action can no longer be perceived as being wholly self-evident".

The disconnection of character or action from context produced a kind of fragmentation in the progress of the play. This added a strong, demonstrative force to the representation of reality, whereby each scene received an ideal meaning though the play's final significance was left more or less open, for the audience to decide. Only through the *Verfremdungseffekt* could one prevent the theatre from becoming merely entertainment for a theatrical consumer seeking escape.

Of course the idea underlying this device carries an earlier date than the time which saw Brecht propagating it. One of the bestknown examples of a similar stage device is the 'aside'. It is important to note here that in the hey-day of the Commedia dell'Arte the 'aside' was a totally accepted and plausible theatrical convention, which was not necessarily felt to be un-realistic.

There were a number of other techniques that were considered strange and 'alienating' in modern North Atlantic theatre history (especially in the 1920's and 1930's): they were the use of songs, music, masks, and the use of a narrator or circus master.

Perhaps the most estranging element in the eyes of the then *avant-garde* was the anachronism. On the one hand putting on a modern adaptation of an old or ancient play was considered an odd thing to do; on the other hand the modern use of popular acting-methods, which were considered old-fashioned, struck people as strange. Brecht certainly did not shun the use of theatrical techniques which, in the eyes of the theatrical incrowd, were completely outdated and passé, and belonged to the theatrical past. But this past was very much cherished by the common people, and they were the people whom Brecht considered his audience.

Thus for instance the many songs which Brecht used in his productions fragmented the flow of the play, and caused a certain degree of distance between the audience and the ongoing show.

In fact it is not a new technique, this use of songs which round off the scene and state the message just one more time. In theatre performances of cultures possessing a strong oral tradition, the technique is a widely used one; in the tradition of Western European theatre Brecht considered it strongly reminiscent of the role played by the 'chorus' in tragedies: its function was to evaluate and comment on the things that went on in the performance. Brecht did not shun to use songs that weren't very popular with the audience, like tearjerkers and traditional songs and popular ballads. His performances contained a mixture of popular and modern music by well-known composers; they must have had a rather unsettling effect on the audience, which was used to sit back and enjoy shows which displayed a certain degree of strictly kept up consistency.

According to Barthes (1977:72), one of the techniques which Brecht would often use consisted of having a series of *tableaux*; emphasis came to be on the separate scenes rather than on the performance as a whole. The *tableaux* highlighted the meaning and merriment of the individual scenes. This segmentation had a sort of demonstrative power, which gave each scene an ideal meaning but left the final significance of the play more or less up to the spectator.

But that which strikes one particular culture as strange, or seems to be so at one particular period of time, need not necessarily have the same effect on another culture or period. Thus alienating effects can only be described and discussed if they are set off against the backdrop of the theatrical conventions that are familiar to a specific audience at one specific period in time. Bloch (1970:124) draws a similar conclusion, stating that "Estrangement (...) primarily takes place by way of the exotic, or by the way of a model which transforms contemporary events into history or the historical into the contemporary".

According to Van Berlaer-Hellemans (1979:95) projecting a play or a performance on the past was one of the many techniques which Brecht used to keep the audience from identifying with the reality that was represented on stage. The historic theatrical metaphor was merely one particular form of metaphor which Brecht employed to mould his ideas in plays and performances.

Kok (1975:448) suggests that with regard to Brecht's dramaturgy we should take metaphor to signify the figurative portrayal of social behaviour and social relationships from a different historical period or a different social order. With regard to the latter, Brecht did not have to travel far. For his contemporary metaphors he turned to the common people who were his favourite audience. In a number of his productions he clearly strove to join in with those things and ideas that were popular with the people, such as vaudeville, boxing matches and the circus.

One of those contemporary (synchronic) metaphors which Brecht (1970:7-8, 13-15) paid quite some attention to, was the theatrical performance as a sporting event - a boxing match - evidently because these boxing fights, which were held in large halls, drew enormous audiences from the very social class that Brecht so cherished[2].

The historic (diachronic) theatrical metaphors which Brecht used in his plays and performances mainly consisted of historic parallels to current social problems and developments. This provided him with a choice of two possibilities: he could either pick out a relevant historical incident which could be made topical or, alternatively, he could take one current social incident and transpose it to some historic past. In both cases it was left up to the audience to find the similarities between present and past to determine whether there was some sort of continuity in the overall historical process.

To achieve the desired effect, Brecht occasionally used allegorical metaphors, though according to Müller (1975:490) he didn't shun parables either. In his play called *Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis* (The Caucasian Chalk Circle), Brecht dealt

with the theme of two mothers who both wish to claim the same child. He got the theme from the Old Testament, the First Book of Kings (3, V. 16-17), and from a mediaeval Chinese drama (Van Helleputte 1982:65). Eventually, however, many of Brecht's parallels or analogies, especially that most estranging parable of the ring in *Nathan der Weise*, are not so much instruments to historically trace a particular injustice: their function rather is to plainly demonstrate that injustice.

The Sixties: throwing off the shackles of theatrical convention

In the 1960's people in theatre began to reevaluate the sensuous sensation of space. Theatre of course is always performed in some kind of space, but sometimes a particular space or location may be a happening onto itself. No space is impossible or 'too holy' to perform in. Theatre has been staged in all sorts of spaces: amphitheatres, garages, churches, cemeteries, floats, courts and courtyards, factory halls, art galleries, tower blocks, village squares, railway-stations, mountains, caves and islands.

In the eyes of 'experimentalist' theatremakers the gap between the actors and the audience which the proscenium supposedly created, needed to be disrupted. The feeling was that this passive distance which existed between the actors (on stage) and the audience (in their seats) should be replaced by a distance which would be sensed as being 'active'. Paradoxically, this active distance could only be achieved by bringing the actors and their acting physically closer to the audience. This kinaesthetic sensation of space and closeness in theatre performances sharpened an ancient paradox. For surely, the emphasis on the kinaesthetic sensation made performances both very 'true to life' yet at the same time highly artificial.

Throughout the Sixties there was a lot of experimenting with performing in 'non-theatrical' places. In a Boston church the OM-theatre did a reconstruction of a roman-catholic high mass. In *Laundromat*, a production which was put on by the Pageant Players, actors took their laundry to an actual laundromat. They had first studied the various codes of social behaviour which are effective in such places.

The outdoors and the open air were also rediscovered as places to perform, but it was street theatre which was the theatrical form *par excellence* to reach that wide audience which did not easily visit the more conventional playhouses. Street theatre was mostly an urban affair. Since streets are public -everybody's property- theatremakers assumed that streetlife was the only real life. Streets thus created the ideal space to reach a form of *communitas*, a sense of collectivity, of togetherness.

That explains why those groups which wanted audiences to participate in their performances started looking for all kinds of semi-public spaces to perform in, where space as such would not create a barrier between the actors and the audience. In the Sixties audience participation[3] was a serious matter, especially

with the Living Theatre who considered it a thing of paramount importance. In their production of *Mysteries*, the audience were given handmirrors with which they could influence and manipulate the lighting on-stage; the actors responded to the lighting effects that ensued. But it was not until 1968 with their production of *Paradise Now* that the Living Theatre went so far as to make the stage totally interchangeable with the house, with that part of the theatre where the audience was seated. Sometimes the audience was even allowed to take over from the actors.

All these kinds of experiments were meant to shake and awaken the audience, to make them aware of the fact that both theatre and everyday life are not based on seemingly spontaneous laws of nature, but on sets of behavioural conventions - although they are randomly agreed upon they are nonetheless binding. One such set of conventions regarded matters of love, sexuality and intersexual relationships. Sexuality was about to be stripped of its taboos. According to Turner (1969:99) there was a change in the nature of human relationships: rather than to conform to unaffected social obligations, there was a desire for truly 'personal' relationships. Sexuality came to be regarded as a means of expressing immediate *communitas*; it was no longer seen as the sole basis for a solid, lasting and structured social commitment.

Nudity desperately sought stage acceptance. Nakedness entered the theatre - and it was shocking. Being naked first of all meant being vulnerable[4]. This particular vulnerability - of the actors - played an important part, notably with the Living Theatre. Naked actors went down to mingle with the audience, which in turn was encouraged to take off its clothes. Here, too, the aim was to achieve this sensation of *communitas* (shared togetherness), which would do away with the disparity between actors and audience. Ostensibly the easiest way to accomplish this would be to make everybody look equal, i.e. to have everybody, actors and audience, take off their clothes. Who could then tell the difference?

In these general observations on Sixties' theatre as described above, there are a number of things which stand out. We saw that great efforts were made to reduce the gap between theatrical drama and real life (or true-to-life-ness). Traditional playhouses were abandoned in order to get closer to the audience. The audience was very much encouraged to participate in performances which, among other things, was brought off by stressing physical closeness. Social offence was symbolized by physical offence. The word was participation: people should have a say, both in matters social and theatrical. Theatre had to be the result of a collective effort. Directors and actors grouped their effort, with the audience eventually joining in.

The Seventies: from physical to social provocation

That first move which the radical and countercultural theatre companies had made in the Sixties resulted in two different movements in North America during the

seventies. On the one hand there were political theatre groups, and on the other there were those groups that did 'performances'. As far as political commitment in theatre was concerned, Esslin (1978:29) stated that theatre is a supremely political form of art, because it is absolutely and pre-eminently social. In this context, therefore, every performance was considered a political event, since it either confirms or denies the code of conduct of one particular society.

> "In political theatre, few groups have been more tenacious than the San Francisco Mime Troupe, which was formed in 1959. In 1969 the group became a collective and began using its robust, outdoor performance styles to focus attention on social issues ranging from sexism to (...) the U.S. role in Central America" (Oatman 1983:42).

At the end of the 1960's political and militant theatre groups re-discovered the use of 'alienation techniques', preferring those which figured the use of *tableaux vivants*. To justify their use people frequently quoted or referred to Brecht. It seemed to have slipped some minds that these techniques had not only been used at the time of Brecht's productions, but also in the then much hated bourgeois melodramas, from the time of Pixérecourt until the beginning of the twentieth century. One particular form of theatre - image theatre - which was designed in the Seventies by Augusto Boal, was completely centred around such *tableaux* to portray social injustice - on stage - in the form of a picture, an emblem. The performance is 'stopped' by a member of the audience, and the scene freezes.

Throughout the Sixties and Seventies political and educative theatre showed a renewed interest in Brecht's views on theatre. The unexpected song or sketch was thrown in to keep the audience from identifying with a character's misery. A 'freeze' at the end of a scene made sure that the audience would go home with that one forcible image still on their retina. On no account was the story to become glorious or compelling.

Though a story would show some development and possibly a *denouement*, more than anything else it was presented as a series of consistent and coherent theorems on social relationships. The audience was expected to dwell on them, to ponder and earnestly discuss them. In those days it was not unusual for a performance to end in a serious and socially relevant discussion.

It was a time in which people turned away from director's theatre. There was no room for authority, which meant the director had to go. Productions 'came about'; they grew out of a collective theatrical effort: they were the result of this new, collective way of making theatre. Lines would emerge through improvisations, which formed an important part of the working process or workshop. Texts were a group effort as well. Actors were highly involved intellectually.

Putting on a performance meant formulating a problem, just the way it had been with Brecht's exemplary plays (the *Lehrstücke*). Rather than experience a character's individual emotions and drives, the audience should become aware of

the origins, the causes and the social context of the problems that were presented on stage. Propositions were often simple and unequivocal from a didactic point of view. The argument was straightforward and dogmatic. Often the audience was given a choice of just two options: agree or disagree.

Since the story, the plot or the *denouement* were secondary to the argument, the problem was clear and obvious from the very start. The field of tension that was brought about had to do with the relationship between staged reality and the reality of the world outside. There was no doubt as to what the function of theatre was: it was, simply and clearly, to remark upon what was wrong with the world.

Comments and remarks were worked out with great care, as were the acting techniques that were employed to do so: they bore a strong resemblance to the *Verfremdungs* techniques that Brecht had envisaged. All techniques totally denied naturalist acting: they were anti-illusory and rendered all identification impossible. There was no silent or anonymous enjoyment for the audience; it was directly addressed, or it was otherwise actively involved in the performance, for instance by having to sing along with the songs. At the same time the audience was made very well aware of its being the audience: houselights might stay on during the entire performance. Sometimes the audience would be kindly requested to conquer their seats or to change places.

But also on-stage everything was geared towards hindering the audience from following the progress of the play. The flatter a character might be portrayed, the better. A character did not represent one particular individual, but an entire class of individuals. For those people who did not get the message, characters were made to wear signs around their necks so that people could read what they stood for (not unlike the little balloons in a cartoon). Often characters were played by more than one actor. Masks covered the faces of the actors, so that it was hard if not impossible to see their emotions.

No scenic stone was left unturned to create a fragmented performance. It was not unusual to have parallel scenes which would be played simultaneously. There were songs and *tableaux* inbetween the various scenes. Actors would change the staging in front of the audience, right there and then, to demonstrate that acting is a hard working job. The fact that this might totally ruin the scenic rhythm of the play did not bother them in the least.

Finally, much use was made of narrative techniques. Not in the sense that a narrator was brought on; the cabaret showmaster or the circusmaster whose job it is to verbally fill the gaps between gigs was merely a gadget from the toolbox of narrative techniques. In imitation of Dario Fo's strong narrative way of play-acting, actors dared to step in and out of their characters - and did so openly[5].

The Eighties: visual revelation and physical exhaustion

Needless to say - perhaps - that especially such theatremakers as Richard Foreman and Robert Wilson did not use their 'performances' to experiment with

straightforward storytelling, but rather tried to audio-visualize a world of ideas through movement and associations of image[6]. According to Oatman (1983:43) "More and more, groups today seem to be working toward Richard Wagner's nineteenth-century ideal of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a performance which unites all art forms". Their interest in theatre focused on structure, not story.

In those years both the politically active theatre and this visually-associative theatre stayed away from literary drama which was considered to be the playwright's domain. Plays were put together by actors and directors themselves: edited, almost composed. Written texts were not quite taboo, though they were certainly not considered sanctifying.

Both movements shared an aversion to the psychological interpretation of character. Yet where one movement could be seen to clearly - and literally - label its dramatic characters, plainly indicating what they stood for, the second movement worked with characters that stood for a particular idea. Whereas the first movement resorted to words to enforce its arguments, the second movement turned to images: manipulative imagery.

Political theatre groups strove to convince their audiences that there was a way out of the straitjacket of behavioural conventions.

The other movement, the 'performers', were much more interested in language and action which they considered equal partners in an expressive, energetic process of communication. They disconnected action and language, and after a thorough analysis of both these sign-systems they moulded them into a performance in which the different layers of meaning, by way of associative sequences, showed the paradox of using signs in a completely random though strictly binding way.

Rhythm was very important with this particular type of performance. The progression of the play was determined by repetition and varying intensity of (linguistic) action, with some minimal shifts. Drama blended with other performing arts: ballet and dance, music and dialogue. Following the principles of 'minimal art', there were a number of variations on a theme which were worked out with seemingly mathematical precision. Productions might be called conceptual in the sense that they looked obviously and quite openly contrived.

With other companies emphasis shifted from the characters' psychology to the physical energy which actors put into the portrayal of a play's characters. This energy, however, was no longer in any proportion to the psychology of a particular character. Most audiences were familiar with this phenomenon: they had come across it in ballet, where the psychology of the Cinderella character would clearly be of secondary importance; the character of Cinderella merely functioned as a vehicle for the ballerina's virtuosity, who used it to display her energy and force and dancing brilliance.

In theatre in general this disproportion between energy and psychology led to new and novel methods of acting. Actors were truly exhausted by the endless repetitions of action. Fatigue was no longer acted: the audience was confronted

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with real and actual exhaustion. Obvious symptoms of fatigue gained additional significance: in fact a character was nothing more than just an actor.

If or when the audience was not impressed by physical intimacy or schemes on audience participation, one simply turned to undesigning *Publikumsbeschimpfung*. But when this particular form of confrontation did not result in any major revolution in audience communication either, there was only one option left, which was to stylize the conventions and acting rules that determined a performance. It simply turned out to be impossible to have things both ways. Since the audience would only have it one way, many theatremakers at the beginning of the Eighties decided to continue with that physically exhausting fight which actors fought, and hoped it would somehow put the audience on a different track[7]. Gradually and slowly, the audience began to interpret this piercing, draining physical experience of pain and fatigue as suffering: actors suffering. Feeling changed into sentiment. And that finally minimized the experience of distance and enhanced the feeling of *communitas* between actors and audience.

There was one technique which theatremakers continued to explore, which was a further disconnection of action and words. Until that moment action had either supported words ("this is theatrical truth") or it had contradicted them ("this is theatrical falsehood"); now words and action, cause and effect, truth and falsehood were completely disconnected.

This disconnection of text and movement took both acting and lines to a level of abstraction. Thus endearment for instance would not be acted out as such, but the actors would indicate elements of endearment. Whether these indications tally with the audience's conception of the notion, was something for every member of the audience to consider. The thought behind all this is that this sort of acting generates a truer feeling of endearment (with the audience) than a cut-and-dried image would.

In order to raze all possible illusions concerning the relationship between drama and reality, the theatre of the Eighties persistently refused to allow its actors to hide behind a character's psychology. The effect of this was that it seemed as if all that really mattered was stage-reality, a feeling which was further enhanced by having theatre about theatre, theatre which took itself seriously, yet at the same time was ironical enough to be quoting itself. To make the most of this effect, however, the stage needed not characters but actors.

Alienation by quotation: long live the epigonism

During the 1970's todays (Dutch) directors like Jan Ritsema or Paul Binnerts (1976) were writing about Brecht's theatre didactics as well as about the educative function of drama. It was also the time when Jan-Joris Lamers got fed up with the Werktheater's collective confessions, when Gerardjan Rijnders left drama-school and Frans Strijards was working in the Dutch 'periphery'[8]. The names of the contemporary ensembles they are associated with (like Discordia, Southern

Comfort, Toneelgroep Amsterdam and Art & Pro) define what Dutch contemporary theatre is about.

They were all part of the period that saw collective theatre, and plays created without a straight intervention by theatre directors. Perhaps their motives for making theatre are more than just the desire to forget about the Seventies when directors were down and out and undesired. Martin Schouten (1986) argues that Strijards' theatre is a declaration of war on realism. Though this might be reminiscent of some of Brecht's views, Strijards' motives seem nowhere comparable to Brecht's[9].

A number of other directors who were mentioned earlier, made similar comments. They said farewell to Brecht's social commitment to the educative function of theatre. They did, however, create a new form of theatrical aesthetics by further developing some of the acting techniques which had evolved during the Seventies. In adaptations of 'the classics' they took just as many liberties as Brecht had done in his time. The initial process of preparation would see the director totally dissecting the text, stripping it to the bone, taking it apart, without fearing to do some substantial (re)writes himself. Frequently actors were made to portray just the character's essence. Psychological-realism in acting was avoided.

The working principle was 'deconstruction'. According to Strijards in an interview in a Dutch national newspaper called *De Volkskrant* (31-10-1986), the theatrical tradition of which a play had once formed part and in which it had been understood, was scrapped. That was the only way to truly revive a play. Then according to Strijards (1986), both the director and the actors produced their effects through paradox, through contradiction in acting. Text had become an element of scenic design, equal to lighting, sound and movement. Voices would be electronically amplified, which produced some astounding effects in the relation between action and words.

In such instances where plays - texts - did not offer enough material for a production, one turned to novels or to one's own typewriter. All of this really resulted from the absolute aversity there was to 'psychologize' character. They would rather tell a story about the character or portray it rather than enact it. At the time *De Mug met de Gouden Tand* conscientiously devoted itself to a series of renditions of 'literary characters', which were based on biographical texts by Duras, De Beauvoir and Yourcenar. Unknown or lesser known literary works formed a popular source of inspiration, whether it was Jane Bowles, Dorothy Parker or Kathy Acker; choices were relatively random, but all ended in presenting 'literary portraits'.

Of course this did have some consequences as far as acting was concerned. "Good acting means playing only the essence, and leaving out all the rest" says Rijnders in an interview with Van der Linden (1986:104). But this essence was frequently guided, directed, put upon a track. The experiments with narrative technique had evolved stylistically. A character's lines might be spoken by

different actors at different times. There was 'literary travesty' when male actors spoke the lines of the female characters, and vice versa. At times it seemed that audibility was really all that counted. Voices were amplified. In other performances the actors went around mumbling, prompting, quoting, reading and reciting text. In yet other performances words were delivered so casually and parenthetically as to sound absolutely contrary to their supposed meaning.

All of these devices are to accomplish one thing only: to avoid psychological-realism in play-acting. In an interview with Vleugel (1987:66) Rijnders enthusiastically talks about his fascination with this kind of acting which he does perceive with a Dutch theatre company called Discordia:

> "I always find Jan Joris Lamers absolutely fascinating to watch. You can see all the tricks, the way he has arranged and analyzed the text; he has a very detailed, very effective system. He absolutely believes in it, but the reality that he aspires to does not exist: you must always find a form."

Thus Discordia's performance entitled *Sardou/Wilde/Shaw* began with Jan Joris Lamers who, standing in front of 'the curtain', wished the audience a pleasant evening and then dropped the provisional curtain (which had been drawn up for the occasion) to enter the play. This is a way to let the audience know that this is a performance with actors who will be acting.

This particular performance wonderfully illustrates how fragments of text are pieced together to form a whole. So here the fascination is with the designing and staging of literary texts in a performance. Often the audience has to find its own way, make its own decisions in this labyrinth of parallel images which are tied together by so many associative threads, not counting the excess of information which is thrown in for good measure.

To new forms of the oral tradition on stage

Making theatre performances during the eighties was to expose theatre in two ways. First of all, the spectators were shown the various ways in which people manage to hold their own ground in this chaotic world by, constantly, constructing an artificial connection between facts (and people). In short, theatre makers showed or even demonstrated to the spectators that life was not to be taken for granted, but that it is a construction, a world created by the spectators themselves.

In the second place, the theatre makers aimed at a theatrical 'unmasking'. This meant that a number of contemporary theatre makers tried to unmask the mechanisms of theatre in their work. Characters on stage demonstrated, for instance, that theatre consisted of artificially designed rules, a complicated network of conventions. Theatre fiction on stage was shattered regularly. Thus developed a tongue-in-cheek theatre.

47.

Psychological-realism was not part of this kind of theatre. The audience was directly addressed, straight through the 'fourth wall'. A new way of direct communication, or rather, of relating to the audience. Many a North Atlantic theatre maker was searching for one of these new ways of communicating with the audience.

The theatre makers wanted to get rid of the faithfulness to reality and truth which realism (sometimes also referred to as naturalism) demanded on stage. Life should not be depicted on stage in one-to-one relations. Neither should a psychological-realistic way of acting be used. This acting method, which is perfectly suitable for disclosing and explaining the stirrings of the soul, after all, provides the audience with plenty of opportunity to identify with the suffering of the characters. This psychological-realistic way of acting makes for good film, which is an outstanding medium for the imitation of reality in a (proportion of) one-to-one situation. However, for a number of contemporary theatre makers, this method does not have enough power to realize the impact they want to have on the audience.

It goes without saying that, in order to get rid of the conventions a psychological-realistic way of acting imposes, initially, people started to experiment with other ways of play-acting. People started to enact in a deliberate, exaggerated way, with all the irony this implies. After this period of overdone, ironic theatre, one tried to find new ways of storytelling on stage. Various methods were used by side. Text and act were pulled further and further apart. One character relates to a second character what a third one tells him to do. In this acting each word proves invalid. This double negation, ultimately, results in the consistent creation of an illusion on stage, the construction of which is shown immediately. The actor plays with his character and no longer hides behind it. Every actor has his own personal way of acting 'unreal'.

According to Binnerts (1991:16), this kind of theatre requires that the actor realizes that he is not just enacting another person, but that he relates a story about another person by enacting that person. In this way the actor or actress reveals the intrinsic ambiguous nature of acting. This means that, contrary to what a number of critics put forward, the actor does indeed have a psychological insight into the character he plays, but this psychological insight is not the motive for ostensive acting.

Actors tell their story through their characters the communicativeness of whom they have studied extensively. The point is that we, as the audience, are familiar with the most of these stories told on stage. Therefore, the story itself, or the way the story ends, is usually less interesting. What is interesting, however, is the way in which the actors handle the story. We are shown actors who tell us something about their characters and the reality of their acting is disclosed in an extremely serious way.

48.1

Final remarks

According to Martin Schouten (1987) Brecht would occasionally loose his cool and fling the following words at actrices who indicated they had read his theoretical works: "We're not doing Verfremdungseffekte; we're doing a play!" In the same article Schouten concludes that we have no living Brecht-tradition left to speak of. Brecht's plays - which were once so spirited and sparkling - have lost their relevance. His theoretical writings have been quoted and analyzed to death; in their decay they have become like eulogies, carved in stone.

Yet Brecht certainly left his mark on theatrical history. His influence on views and concepts of directing and dramaturgy continues to be felt today. The one central item which these conceptions are centred around, is the aversity to what might be termed 'naturalistic' acting. That specific aversity influenced both performances and the way in which characters were portrayed.

So, we may ask ourselves, what is left of the Brecht inheritance? As we mentioned before, from the 1950's onwards we saw theatremakers looking for ways to tackle theatrical reality. In the performance of *Dionysus in 69*, each night the part of Dionysos would be played by a different actor or actress. After having been symbolically reborn, the actor would face the audience and introduce himself, telling the audience something about himself and something about the character he was about to play. For instance: "My name is Joan McIntosch, I will play you a god, I was born there and there, etc." It was part of the attempt to discover actors' true and honest vulnerability. Nakedness was felt by some to be the highest form of vulnerability. But not only was there no physical hiding behind clothes, actors weren't allowed to hide behind a character's personality either. That would be impossible since the audience knew the actors' real names, what they did, where they came from; they knew the actors were just putting on a performance.

In the Sixties theatre was all about social liberation; in the Seventies it was all about the liberation of self. This sounds as if each decade produced a new generation of theatremakers, with new views on theatre. Not true, of course. History is a construction. At the beginning there was only a small group of theatrical 'innovators', who were pressing for changes in a wider societal context; it took about ten years before their harvest could be reaped. By that time some of the innovators who had been at the beginning had given up, or else they had realized that social liberation is very closely linked to personal liberation. Yet meanwhile their passion had inflamed a younger generation, who employed their new *élan* to liberate ethnic and other communities; they were less interested in making theatre to bring about societal changes. But again some of the early pioneers and a few exponents of the younger generation got fed up with the eternal consolidation of developments. Drawing from the tumultuous changes and developments of the past thirty years they emerged with a theatre which was

entitled to develop itself, with ideas that would gain force not by pointing towards a social context but by pointing towards itself.

The groups which fought in the seventies to make these sorts of drama accepted, are venturing anno 1980 upon plays by established authors, working with directors and/or dramatists, and are performing in play-houses again. They have deserved their merit by showing that art and politics are not separate entities.

One important idea, which was of great importance in the creation of performances, was the idea of fragmentation: it allowed the writer and the director to play around with the conventions concerning the unity of time, place and action. It was no longer necessary to be chronological or causative; scenes could be linked together by pure association. This meant that the significance of a performance might be in the individual scenes, instead of with the total course of the performance [as a whole].

Non-identification was of great importance for the realisation of the play and the acting. Once the linear development of the story had been disrupted, it was no longer necessary to show explicit character development. Conceptions about acting underwent a radical change. Where the naturalist method of acting made an actor most convincing if he 'denied to be acting', with Brecht and (post)-modern theatre it became a figure of style: the actor 'publicly confessed to be acting'.

After Brecht there was a greater freedom and more independence in the relationship between actors and audience, which was a direct result of those views on acting and performance as discussed earlier. From the exact moment at which the casualness of story and character was abandoned, the audience was given the opportunity to draw its own conclusions. This meant that theatremakers no longer carried the responsibility for their audiences, and - consequently or likewise - the audience could judge a performance as it liked, and nothing, not even theatre, would interfere with its judgment.

50.1

4.
The terminological knot: research into the anthropology of theatre

Taking the African region as a point of departure in this cross-cultural study, it is not 'art for art's sake'[1] according to Sieber (1962:8) people believe in. According to him one should speak more of 'art for life's sake', because art is an essential and integrated part of social life. Hence the attempts by African playwrights, directors and choreographers, actors, dancers and musicians to find a theatre aesthetics through their experiments which would enable the audience to participate in the performances as much as possible and through which traditional and modern aspects of the performing arts would be considered equal.

African art is mainly functional and explicit and is, as such, seldom verbalised (Mensah n.d.:68). Specimen from African art, such as masks, musical instruments, headdresses and costumes, are often studied outside their context. This leads to deficiencies in the analysis because a mask derives its full meaning from its being used in a dance, in full movement and colour in a performance. This is the same for drum-rhythms. No one drum-rhythm, in an ensemble of three drums, can execute, on its own, the full effect of the three together. The three drums together mean something to the people, musically. The same goes for a song out of a series of songs. In the performing arts of Africa almost all theatrical means are integrated. Even the analysis of a performance loses part of its meaning if one neglects the socio-cultural context within which the performance takes place.

Because music, text and dance are almost inseparable we cannot really speak in this context of the representation of a dramatic text, a dialogue. The emphasis is, here, more on musical theatre or dance drama, permeated by short dialogues, or on elocution mixed with music, mime and dance. Therefore, in analysing these forms of theatre, it is better to take the concept of 'performance' as a point of departure when we want to make a statement about theatre.

According to Angmor (1978:58) there are two types of indigenous or traditional performances to be distinguished. On the one hand there are the ritual performances, including some forms of dance-drama, which form a part of real life: in this context performing is real life. On the other hand there are theatrical performances, including a wide range of story-telling, which simulate real life. These forms of theatre tell the audience about life by depicting or enacting it.

This resembles the distinction made between performances that are integral part of the 'belief-system' or the religion (that both audience and actors share) from the performances that create an atmosphere of profane 'make believe'. Enactments of the first type are generally referred to as ritual performances,

forming part of the belief system. Enactments of the second type are referred to as theatrical performances, that can deal with faith among other and quite secular things, and that form part of the make-believe system[2].

Traditional theatre, then, is a generic term for all kinds of different forms of theatre of which the rules determining a performance have existed throughout history and beyond national borders. Traditional theatre performances require the greatest care as regards the agreements which have been made within the culture in question. This does not mean that these conventions, these theatre customs, cannot be changed. These theatre forms are not necessarily conservative, although the label traditional does lead one to think so. However, changes are allowed or determined from within the culture in question. In short, the theatre form defines its own limits as regards changes.

Why is this? This is mainly because of the way in which these rules and customs are handed over from one generation to the next. This transference is often a very personal one, from a *guru* to his disciple, from master to apprentice, from father to son[3].

Even though the stock scripts containing the dialogues or the plot are written down, as for instance in South-East Asia, the manner in which this is staged in performance is handed over orally. In North Atlantic societies Schechner (1977:39) perceived an emphasis in the theatre on text and dialogue, whereas in the South and in the East the emphasis is on scenario and performance.

Spooky shadows and burning torches: Kwagh-hir performances in Tiv society

> "A chorus of women and children sits down as well as the orchestra consisting of drums, rattles and a few gongs. The singing starts. Bundles of long grass are brought on which, when lit,serve as illumination. The man who is in charge of lighting them starts a small fire. With this he kindles the bundles of grass so the scene is illuminated. Not only for the light, but also for his funny role is he crucial for the performance. Between the acts he does all sorts of circus-like tricks with the fire. His burlesque whims and satire function as interludes between the scenes. He imitates the dancers and ridicules people in the audience, in between the acts, and presents the next item repetitively, with mimicry and a large number of amusing comments.
> Then the spectacle begins. A mythical character fully dressed in raffia enters the stage. His impressive and athletic dance raises the dust on the nightly square. Spooky shadows are caused by the burning torches. Next enters a box, the size of an altar, with two slits on top, invisible to the audience. In the box there are two puppet-players. In this scene one can hardly speak of a plot; it is rather meant as a comic image. A doll portraying a traditional chief appears from one of the slits, there is real smoke coming out of his pipe. Then again a solo dancer dressed as a mythical animal shuffles in some sort of bag made of sheets with a head cut out of wood on top, amongst the

audience. He is accompanied by the lighting man. Three times he does a somersault and lands on his knees in front of me. He starts to shake his whole body as in a trance, accompanied and encouraged by the drum-roll. This manner of ridiculing someone in the audience is received with laughter. Now there starts a musical intermezzo, chorus songs conducted and backed by the orchestra. Meanwhile the narrator jokes with the audience and puppetry comes back on stage. This time, a copied miniature *Volkswagen* is shown; it can go forward and backwards while all sorts of lights within the car flicker. Then another puppet-scene starts. This puppet-scene is fully decorated with freshly picked greens. It takes place close to water, it seems. First a gold-painted male puppet appears, followed by a red-painted nude woman puppet. Now and again, the woman raises her hands, thus revealing her pubic hair. When the woman disappears there is suddenly an eightyinch long snake hissing among the green, trying to crawl off the box in the direction of the audience. The snake looks so real that the audience are frightened. Then a second snake appears and we see a spectacular faked fight between the two animals. The performance ends with the entrance of a creature which is entirely made of raffia. This gigantic costume or ritual mask is moved by two dancers. It has an enormous moveable mouth. The creature runs into the arena and starts to shake, then it collapses on the sand. This happens several times. The creature threatens to run into the audience twice, which increases the general hilarity" (Epskamp 1983:275-276).

During a visit to Tiv country in Nigeria in 1982 I was able to witness a Kwagh-hir performance, which is described in the above passage from an earlier publication. According to Hagher (1983:18), Kwagh-hir is a form of traditional theatre even though it dates back only to 1960, when for the first time various theatrical forms of expression from the Tiv tradition - the telling of stories, wooden puppet plays, song, dance, music, narrative, and masquerade - were brought together into a single performance which was given the name Kwagh-hir. The use of the puppet figures has changed. They used to represent spirits whose world more or less reflected that of humans, and who protected people against dangers such as those encountered while travelling. In performances nowadays the puppets have lost much of this sacred function. Instead they comment on the changes going on within Tiv society.

According to Kidd (1982:46) Kwagh-hir developed in response to the political situation in Tiv country in the 1960s. The Tiv felt they were being dominated politically and culturally by the Hausa-speaking Moslem majority in the North-Eastern province of Nigeria. After a number of Tiv actions had been put down by the federal army, Kwagh-hir was created as a means of expressing feelings of rebellion that were still present. But Kwagh-hir also has roots in the spiritual world; its 'creator' or spiritual father, Adikpo Songo, was one of the rebels. On

his way back home after the skirmishes, as the story goes, he was overcome by a vision in which he saw people performing Kwagh-hir in the spirit world.

But the stories that are 'told' in a Kwagh-hir performance are metaphors for the contemporary Tiv world rather than representing anything from the spirit world; the performances provide secular entertainment. Puppets and masks that were formerly used in ceremonies have been taken out of their ritual context; in Kwagh-hir they are used simply as visual elements within the performance. It is interesting, however, that the messages conveyed to the audience during a performance vary from one type of performing art to the next.

Songs and masked dances use figures of speech to comment on developments and persons outside Tiv society: the Hausa, the Nigerian army or the bureaucracy. Puppet plays, on the other hand, concentrate on weak spots in Tiv society itself. The difference is related to the nature of the medium. The songs that accompany masked dances, for example, make extensive use of figures of speech and their author remains anonymous. By contrast, puppet plays use more dialogue, which everyone knows is created by the puppeteer.

The development of Kwagh-hir provides a good example of how a 'traditional' theatre form could have been created so recently. Kwagh-hir performances take forms of ritual expression from the cultural tradition of Tiv society, and place them in a contemporary theatrical setting. Kwagh-hir performances require well developed cultural organization; many people must be mobilized singers, dancers, musicians, narrators, local craftsmen, grass cutters, etc. Companies are made up of some 30 to 40 villagers, men and women. Powerful informal organization at community level is required to reproduce Adikpo Songo's visions of young and old performing together. Getting everyone together and organizing a performance serves very much to reinforce social integration at the community level.

The Kwagh-hir festivals serve much the same function, but at the level of Tiv society. These festivals last for one or two nights. One village acts as host and invites Kwagh-hir companies from other villages to come and take part in a Kwagh-hir competition. The most original and exciting performance is the determining factor for the winner. Sometimes these festivals are attended by some 10,000 people. Not only does this prove that Kwagh-hir is part of a living culture, it also serves as a way of getting around the government's ban on public meetings. The cultural identity of modern-day Tiv to some extent is based on Kwagh-hir.

In the 1980s, Kwagh-hir actually served as a channel of communication for the rural Tiv population through which they were able to comment on everything that was going on outside and inside Tiv society: western medicine, new industries, the national food campaign, armed attacks, the Nigerian army, and bureaucracy; but also the younger Tiv generation with its blue jeans and its preference for music from Zaire, prostitution in the cities and young Tiv women who refused to use the traditional methods of farming. This conflict between the

older and younger generations is sometimes depicted in the performances which might begin with a line of blue-jeaned youth dancing into the arena. In short, anything can be incorporated into the songs, dances and puppet plays, and comments can be made on any new developments. "In one way or another Kwagh-hir succeeds in building a bridge between traditional art forms from rural areas, which are survivals from the past, and modern art forms of professional theatrical companies, which are more oriented towards urban life" (Hagher 1983:19).

Scenes and performances like those of the Tiv tell a story, and the plot is in the heads of those who share the culture. There is therefore no need to repeat the entire plot in the performance; everyone knows it already. The scenes described could very well have whole volumes of meaning for the Tiv themselves, and if not there is always the narrator, the chorus or the drums' rhythm to tell the public to what story the scene is referring. If one knows which story it is, one knows the plot. The Tiv audience share the meaning of what is going on in the arena.

If I now look at my own choice of words in the former passage in which part of a Kwagh-hir performance is described, I think, "It sounds enthusiastic but also raises a lot of questions". Take the use of language, for example. Expressions like 'circus-like', 'light-man' and 'like in a trance' clearly reveal my eagerness to create a frame of reference in which to place such a performance. And the most obvious frame of reference for me to choose was my own culturally determined theatrical tradition. In retrospect I can see that I had resorted to such terms not so much from lack of knowledge about Tiv culture as from my own implicit and naive wish to demonstrate that all theatrical forms regardless of time and place have undergone parallel developments. Deep down this is still a wish of mine, but I have become somewhat more cautious in presenting evidence and somewhat more selective in what I suggest through my choice of words.

If a researcher is not careful in his use of language, a world of meaning can be introduced which says more about the researcher's expectations than about the subject of his study. This can be seen, for example, in the following sentence from my 1982 description of the Kwagh-hir performance: "In this scene one can hardly speak of a plot; it is rather meant as a comic image". My use of the term plot suggests that I, the researcher, was looking for a plot. North Atlantic literary notions about theatre, after all, place quite a bit of emphasis on plot. 'Plot-less' means in this case that I was unable to detect any plot in this scene. Now I wonder whether I in fact watched the scene as an integral part of the whole performance. I expect that I did not. It could even be that subconsciously I did not expect to find a plot in such an 'exotic' performance, which is why I did not find one.

In the end I think that 'plot-less' meant that at the time I did not accept the idea that everyone in the audience except me already knew the story's plot.

Ritual and theatrical performances

Inspired by the distinction between the Apollonian and the Dionysiac in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* Soyinka stated that ritual is, in fact, the drama of the gods. It is within this frame that traditional society poses its social questions or formulates its moralities. This dominates the aesthetic considerations of a ritual performance and gives each performance both a sacral and a profane character. The setting of the ritual performance forms a cosmic whole, within which ritual actions and symbols ought to be used and performed accurately, if one does not wish to call on the gods and ancestors.

Ritual symbols are polysemous, i.e. they have many referents, of which some are denotations and others connotations. Analogies and associations are the principle which control the chains of connotations and define their 'meaning'. With ritual symbols one usually does not speak of one single chain but of several chains. This is because of a network of referents and senses with which the symbol is associated. Further, Turner (1969:76-77) distinguishes two levels of meaning: (a) the exegetic level: what the participants say it means; (b) the operational level: the meaning the symbol obtains by what the participants do with it. This second level has a strong sociological aspect because we investigate here who used the symbol, which groups or persons are involved and the way they behave towards it. Symbolic actions represent social relations better than symbolic objects. They reveal the aim of the ritual and the participants' intentions.

The operational level of ritual performances is primarily clarified by the series of actions which together form the ritual performance. Arnold van Gennep's theories about ritual performances emphasize the importance of a very compressed period of education during these rituals, and acknowledge its festive character for the community and its usage of theatrical means such as masks, dancing and music. Later onwards these *rites de passage* were referred to by Turner (1969) as ritual drama, in which life-crises were being celebrated and depicted.

But as Crow (1983) puts it, there is such an abundance of dramatic moments in life (birth, marriage, death) which are in themselves still no theatre, but rather the source of inspiration to drama. This does not only concern the moments of crisis in a personal process of life, but also moments in a social process of development such as independence-day after a prolonged time of colonial oppression.

In daily life, too, it is repeatedly said that an event is theatrical, i.e. that, as spectators, we are confronted with, among other things, a combination of movement, voice, costumes, and props which thrill us with impressions, as with the coronation of a king or a masquerade. From that we may conclude that the performance of a play is only an example of a rich variegation of activities which we range under theatre. Let us, therefore, subscribe to Crow's current definition

(1983:2) of a theatrical performance. By this one understands a performance in which the active participants personify others by means of one or more already set sequences of physical actions and thus depict a story to entertain an audience.

Crow (1983:3) argues that according to this definition a part of theatrical entertainment, in which the dialogue is not central, can yet be seen as dramatic. This holds good for, for example, a dance-drama, which does not use dialogue or language, but in which the players positively represent characters by the physical movements of their dance, and depict a story by the sequence of their movements.

The same applies to mime-drama, or to music theatre like opera. Thus, although language is usually seen as an essential ingredient of the theatre, in Africa and elsewhere it is customary that the personification takes place without one single word. So language is only an essential part of drama, but not of theatre at large; and this also applies to the stage, the costumes, props and lighting which are not essentially necessary for a theatre performance.

What to do then with Turner's statement about ritual drama? Although ritual actions and performances can be theatrical, they are not covered by Crow's definition of drama. Crow (1983:3) gives two reasons for this. Firstly, in a ritual there is no real personification, in which the player consciously and intentionally is searching for a way to represent someone else than himself. Secondly, the players rarely depict a story for an audience by means of a sequence of physical actions. Even though there is a sequence and a string of physical actions and even though there is an audience, there does not need to be a story. Even if the ritual is based on a story about the creation of the world, the story is not immediately apparent from, nor is it newly told in the ritual's actions.

Finally, according to Crow (1983:4) there is one other form of a theatrical performance which is worth having a closer look at. It is elocution, in which a narrator, an amateur or a professional, tells stories to an audience, which already is familiar with them from its own long tradition. Often the narrator not only recites the stories but also depicts a number of characters and actions from the stories. He adapts his voice to the main character about whom he relates and imitates this protagonist. On such moments the narrator personifies the character of the story, and we can define such moments as comic interludes in the tale. But the recital is based on words rather than on action, and the moments of personification are rare. That is why Crow does not reckon it among drama, although he admits that within the context of theatre beyond Euro-American culture, this narrative technique can easily change into drama.

General characteristics and descriptive terms

Theatre-anthropology may be a relatively new concept for a large number of anthropologists but it cannot be ignored in the field of anthropology and dramaturgy anymore. Since the writings of Richard Schechner and Victor Turner,

published from the '70s onwards, we must learn to live with this concept. The concept evidently has a different meaning to anthropologists than to stage directors and is different again to literary scholars than to dramaturgists.

Why is the term traditional theatre used (within the field of the anthropology of theatre) to denote a range of highly heterogenous forms of theatre, varying from age-old traditions to relatively recent developments and all sorts of mixed forms, which can be observed nowadays at community level as well as in the cosmopolitan towns of the Third World? There do exist a number of alternative terms of course. But, within this context they all seem less attractive. I rather do not speak of indigenous theatre, because isolated ethnic groups hardly exist anymore. Neither do I like to use the concept of folk theatre, because of the associations it raises with cultural survivals and folklore. Finally, I do not want to use the term popular theatre because of its political connotations.

Traditional theatre, thus, is a collective term for a diversity of theatrical forms, of which the performance rules have continued to exist through time and space, through history and over frontiers. Modernization has not put a stop to the popularity of this type of theatre, because it could not intervene and change these performative conventions. This is not to say that these conventions are unchangeable. These theatrical forms are by no means regressive in nature, although the adjective 'traditional' might point into this direction. However, these changes are agreed upon and determined from within. In short, a traditional theatre form defines its own boundaries and speed of change.

What mechanism, thus, causes this autonomy in the development of traditional theatre? According to Graham-White (1976) it is due to the way in which these conventions and rules are transferred from one generation to the next. He states that even if the basic texts, which might provide a dialogue as well as a storyline, have been written down, the transfer of performative conventions and the acting heavily depend on an apprenticeship system authentic to oral traditions. This statement seems to correspond with Schechner's (1973) rather cryptic statement, that in the highly literate North Atlantic world dialogue is very important, while in the South and the East more stress is laid on script and performance.

Apprentices are not trained within highly formalised educational institutes, but on community level, from master to apprentices or, within the family, from father to son. And this way of transferring is responsible for the fact that the theatrical form as such survives, even if at any point in history it is made into a national artform or falls into discredit. It is the apprenticeship system that 'marks' off the social context of traditional theatre, and as such the field of our studies.

It is only under this borderline condition that we might distinguish a number of aesthetic characteristics of performances of traditional forms of theatre in a comparative perspective. First of all, within the performances a number of theatrical disciplines like dance, songs, mime, pantomime, dialogue, music, puppetry, recitals, etc. are used in an integrated way, simultaneously or in

structured sequences. For a western audience this raises various reactions. One thinks of it as a spectacle or variety theatre. The other (Pronko 1974) thinks of it as a feast for all the senses.

Secondly, within performances various acting styles are used again simultaneously or next to another: from entering completely into one's part up to taking as much distance as possible from one's part.

Distinctions like comedy, tragedy, farce, melodrama, morality play, etc. are really hard to make. The performance might include naturalistic, realistic, epic, absurdistic, expressionistic, environmental, surrealistic elements, which in our eyes might be used in a kind of exotic mixture, an uncoded hotchpotch.

This confusion in terms that pops up in discussing traditional theatre, is not really surprising because this terminology has developed itself primarily to distinguish periods or conjunctional trends in North Atlantic theatre history. Part of these distinctions in fact do not refer to acting styles or theatrical conventions, but to literary genres.

This leads us to a third characteristic which was clearly made by Schechner. Written texts, like dialogue, are less prominent present in the performance than performance rules and raw scripts.

Fourth, in performances we recognize stylistic devices derived from cultures who attach more value to discourse than to language. That is to say that stylistic devices authentic to oral literature, like formal greetings, riddles, proverbs, allegories, metaphors, jokes, rhyme and verse, etc. are frequently used within performances. Considering the last two points in detail, special demands are made to the repetitiveness of words and actions in traditional theatre. This does not only apply to the discourse, for the themes and theatrical incidents within the play, but as well as to the basic structure of the performance in which highly formalized acting principles and strict language use are alternated with improvisations, most often of a comic nature

Fifth, the performance rather refers to a story which is supposed to be well known by the audience, than that it unfolds the story into detail. It is assumed that the audience knows the rich mythic, legendary or historical basic materials in all their literary versions, out of which only one tiny episode is going to be performed.

This brings us to point six, the appreciation of the expertise and skilfullness of the performer. This does not only apply to his knowledge and control of the performance rules, but also to the feeling of aesthetics the performer uses to mould himself into a character, by means of make-up, masks, dress, body posture, and the modulation of the voice.

Seventh, the relations between performers and audience are quite close. A certain degree of audience participation is encouraged, and within certain boundaries the audience partakes in or gives new impulses to the play of the performers. In some cases the performance is not possible without the collaboration of the audience. But, whatever the closeness of the relation between

performers and audience, participation never runs wild and is bound to rules and conventions again.

To see the scenery changing any member of the audience may walk around to look at the performance area from another angle. Or, as Schechner (1983:262) has put it, processions and parades may be built into the performance so that the audience and the performers move on together from set (1) to set (2) during the performance.

Finally, and this brings us back to the social context of the performance again, performances are given at certain occasions. Traditional theatre is 'occasional' theatre. As Van Gennep and later on Turner have pointed out, the events chosen to give a performance are 'marking' off critical moments in the lifecycle of community members, or in the calendrical cycle of the community as a whole. The crisis may be for the sake of celebration or lamentation, for an individual or for society as a whole. But whatever the degree of individuality of the crisis or the social event, the performance will be open to a wider audience than those celebrating or lamentating. It is at this level that the narrow margin between ritual and theatrical performance is felt at most.

Final remarks

A theatrical performance is a life event which requires 'thick description' and thorough knowledge of the culture in which the performance takes place. Such studies in depth are mainly the work of anthropologists and specialists in literature and history. Aside from these individual studies, there are researchers in all three disciplines who want to draw more general conclusions, and therefore conduct comparative research. Sometimes the specific choice of words or use of abstract concepts in a descriptive study, whether ethnographic or historical, is entirely a function of the author and says more about how that anthropologist or historian should be categorized within his own scientific field than about the subject at hand. When that is the case, one must be very careful in comparative studies not to cluster unlike things together by mistake. This takes us back to my description of the Kwagh-hir performance. So far, all that has been said about Kwagh-hir was put in descriptive terms.

However, as soon as I begin to discuss Kwagh-hir as indigenous theatre, traditional theatre or political theatre, I am using categorical rather than descriptive terms. Words have become concepts and since my approach is that of a social scientist, not only the denotation should be fixed but all possible connotations should be fixed as well.

Kwagh-hir is strongly rooted in the Tiv cultural tradition, and as such could be called traditional theatre. Kwagh-hir is in any case indigenous theatre. Kwagh-hir enjoys enormous popularity among the vast majority of Tivs, and as such could be called popular theatre. At festivals Kwagh-hir draws huge audiences. So why can we not speak of mass theatre? Originally the performances were political

and 'ethnic' in character, so that one could even defend calling Kwagh-hir ethnic or political theatre.

Now one is of course left with the question: Are all of these categorical terms correct or just one of them? I think that they are all correct. The fact that a researcher prefers one over another indicates the perspective from which he is writing. If one is interested in the political function of Kwagh-hir one would see it as political theatre; if one is investigating Kwagh-hir as a cultural minority's way of expressing itself in Nigeria one would probably write about ethnic or even minority theatre.

Because of its oral tradition, in most cases theatre beyond the boundaries of the Euro-American cultural context is 'epic theatre'. Theatrical art at the traditional courts dealt with cyclic 'heroic' stories on gods, kings and men. However, not only the contents but also the way of acting and performing was 'epic' in nature. The style of acting was, and still is, narrative, episodic, fragmentary and participatory. This is clearly indicated by the description of the Kwagh-hir performance. In the performance reported above there was a repeated use of these traditional and native elements. The informal Kwagh-hir organizations, musicians, singers and drummers participated in the performances. There appeared an actor-narrator who glued the scenes together with comments. He introduced the play; he told beforehand what he was going to perform and what the audience could expect to hear. This narrator also functioned as a sort of mediator between audience and players, representing the voice of the onlookers on stage.

Part I

History

5.
Fools for development: using traditional theatre in development communication

There is a sufficient historical material at hand in which the role of the fool beside the ruling monarch or despot in ancient Europe has been described. We know the descriptions of the jesters of Egyptian Pharaohs, the fools at the Roman table, the deformed wags of European bishops, popes and rulers. Less historical source-materials about the jesters of the courts of non-western monarchs are available. Nevertheless, Kalff (1954) has given a broader enumeration of these. As far as Latin America is concerned, he mentions the deformed Mexican jesters at the court of Montezuma, directly linked to the god Quetzalcoatl. With regard to Africa he mentions examples from travel books of the last century about jesters at the court of the Botswana king, Mulihawang, about the jesters of the Ashanti kings, about those at the court of the Sultan of Birni (Tchad), about the *wada* (dwarfs) for sale at the market of Kuka (Sudan) as jesters for the northern sheiks, about the jester at the court of King Munsa of Monbutu, about those of the Bihenos in Southern Africa, about those at the court of King Mtesa of the Baganda, about the *wauwaserki* of the kings of the Nupe (Central Sudan), about those of the Hausa kings, etc.

As for Polynesia, Kalff tells of the jesters of the Maori leaders in New Zealand; for Asia of King Mongkut of Siam's jester Nai Teh (little master); of jesters connected with the various sultanates of the various islands of Indonesia, among whom 'King Amsterdam' the court-jester of the sultan of Ternate Sibori. In the time of the realm of the Abissides, the emirs, sultans, kahlifs and the great moguls all had jesters.

So the figure of the court-jester is widespread and one can ascribe a certain degree of universality to him, in the sense of his having a position beside a social patron in a feudal society, god on earth, the king. Feudal kings tried to strengthen their position by having their great deeds added to chronicles and annals, or by having themselves extolled by bards who would sing their praise. Whether this was done by oral or written tradition, the monarch had himself appointed as national hero, advocate of social and ecclesiastical order, who ruled the universe. In this way he was his people's protector. In this position he and his court, the status quo, were sustained by the traditional mythology in which the prime centre of the secular order (the royal family) was linked to a cosmic and religious order (the pantheon). By a mixture of historical chronicles and myth the living 'divine king' was the centre of written and orally transmitted heroic poems. And since these epics were regularly dramatized, the representatives of the status quo became the heroes of the epic theatre. This form of epic theatre, in which the

king as well as the fool are portrayed, consequently reaffirmed the operative social structure.

People's fool in oral cultures

However, apart from the court-jester, there was the popular jester, about which much less is known. The people did not have scholars and literate men at their disposal, but what they did have were narrators who, in a comical way, related the needs and hardships of the people under the ruling dynasty. This motley *bohème* of travelling people were known as *jongleurs*, in the Europe of the Middle Ages. *Jongleurs* and minstrels were invited to the court to entertain the monarch, but their proper place was at the market-square, among the people.

In the Europe of the Middle Ages the bards, minstrels or troubadours who wandered about courts and castles with their one-man shows were professionals, who earned their living with reciting poetry and drama. Farces, follies and moralities were played on the street by mime-players and *jongleurs* etc. whereas ritual aspects remained in the liturgical frame of mystery and passion-plays.

Troubadours, waggon-players, clowns, narrators, puppeteers, etc. performed at annual fairs and feasts and told of injustice and oppression. This popular culture had various functions at the same time: it not only meant rare diversion for the people, but it also supplied moralistic folk-tales or historical comments on the actions of the nobility and clergy. In short, information supply, awareness raising and entertainment were mingled in their performances.

Heroic poems were a source of inspiration for many story tellers as well as for the classical European and the traditional Asian theatre. This is the type of poem which Lucácks (1973)[1] ascribed to 'closed cultures', the 'epos' in which the world is supposed to be problematic for the 'hero' only. The heroes of the 'epos' experience a varied train of adventures, but there is never any doubt whether they will carry them to a happy conclusion mentally as well as physically; the gods who rule the world always have to triumph over the demons (which Indian mythology calls 'divinities of obstacles'). 'Epos', in this sense, is therefore also a representation of a static and religiously ordered world, in which the dimensions of the world are reduced to dimensions which the hero's possible experiences can take[2].

Epic theatre is basically derived from oral and narrative art, and forms originally part of an oral culture. It is not only found in Europe, but also in those cultures which for a long time past have had an oral tradition and in which written chronicles and annals were an occasional luxury of the court. Since many of those stories are well known to the audience it is the skill of the narrator that enables him to make them attractive. As Jacobs (1960) proved with the Clackamas Chinook Indians, this mostly happens by using a necessary amount of humour in the narrative and by the comical way in which the plot through pantomime and mimicry is depicted.

The influence of the *commedia dell'arte* on South European theatre has been great. Fixed stereotypes were used who, thanks to masks, costumes, conventionalized gestures and movements, were easily recognizable. Improvisation in the play and simple stage-effects were used. The text was only one element beside many others, such as singing, dancing, mime, acrobatics, scenery and props. This popular theatre remained vivid, even while more stylised comedy and tragedy developed and while modern drama forced the audience more and more to take a passive part, that of silent spectator and listener.

In most cultures in Third World countries there has been for ages a comprehensive oral, that is a verbally transmitted, tradition which in contrast to written literature has not been embedded in texts. Oral literature has, through recitation, always been a form of drama. The narrator, usually, is poet, singer, musician and actor at the same time. By narrating, on the other hand, the narrator improvises time and again on well-known themes, while the performance is within a strict framework.

The oral tradition does not exist without forms of dramatic expression. The recitation, the performance is an overall event in which all present take part, either by narrating or by making music, by joining in the rhythm clapping hands or dancing or by joining in the refrains. People react continually, either positively or negatively: the people act as critics and everybody is closely involved in theatre.

One can detect from the outline given above that development and change in society bring about different dramatic forms. In the theatre of today, one can see different 'times' at once, because there are different forms of society and different developments side by side. Beside oral literature, traditional or modern stock-plays are performed, for which the oral tradition still remains an important source of inspiration.

Popular theatre and social commitment

The popular theatre is what it says, theatre for the broad masses. The popular theatre's most important social role is that it disseminates new ideas, concepts and cultural values over the country and in the marginal quarters of the great city centres. According to Brandon (1971) it is no coincidence that the number of popular theatre groups in Asia increased rapidly during the second half of the 19th and 20th century, precisely when western politico-economical administrations were stimulating the growth of the Asian metropoles. According to Brandon at the beginning of the 20th century the 'Zarzuela' plays (Philippines) already contained the first 'Yankee go home' themes. Sandiwara plays in Indonesia pleaded for equal rights for men and women.

The *cai luong* plays criticized the French rulers in Indo-China. Before the fall of the Diem regime 80% of the *cai luong* lyrics were prohibited by the censors of Saigon. Yet the plays were performed illegally and the lyrics secretly changed.

Shortly after a girl student had been shot by Diem troops, Brandon himself witnessed how a clown - who is generally identified with the people - in a *cai luong* play picked up the body of a young girl who had just been killed by the mean king. He placed the body right in front of the audience and publicly sang a lament about the cruelty of the ruler.

In his brilliant article about the clowns in the Javanese *wayang* theatre Ras (1978) also gives examples of clown comments. *Wayang* is a term which contains a diversity of various kinds of theatre in Indonesia. These theatre forms have in common, on the one hand, their underlying plot and, on the other, their particular presentation in a performance. The plot is mainly based on the two epic poems *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. The *wayang* play, the *wayang lakon* has mostly been written down in short notes which reflect the quintessence of the scenes in the plot. Further, during the acting, the scenes are filled in by the *dalang* (the stage director). As far as the presentation is concerned the mythical protagonists from the plots may be acted out by puppets as well as by actors.

The *panakawan*, or insight-giving friends as they are called, accompany their master, in most cases prince Ardjuna or another semi-divine hero from the Mãhabhãrata epos, who belongs to the Pandawa clan. The *panakawan* and especially Semar are identified, on the one hand, with the highest gods in the Javanese pantheon, but, on the other, they are equated with the Javanese people, the peasants. In their special position these buffoons function as intermediaries between the gods and the mythical kings and, moreover, between the mythical kings and the people. For that reason, during the performance Semar translates the old-Javanese dialogues and sayings in common informal parlance (*ngoko*), so that the common man of the audience is able to follow the ritual sayings of the performance. Semar himself is the brother of the highest Javanese deity, Batara Guru, from whom all mythical kings, who are seen as the ancestors of the Javanese historical kings, descend. The clown-servants Semar, Garèng, Pétruk and Bagong make one think of the dwarves and other crippled or hump-backed figures who were part of the Javanese monarchs' retinues in a past not very long ago. According to Ras there can be drawn a clear parallel between these *panakawan* and, for instance, the two court-jesters (*abdidalem badut*) at the court of Surakarta.

Ras declares that it is the combination of the divine tutor and the private teacher in the descendants of the gods which provides the *panakawan* with the complete freedom to say anything that enters their heads and which makes them, therefore, suitable for the role of clown and critic of socio-political abuses. The instruction of the *panakawan* to their secular lord and pupil may consist of worldly wisdom, but also of practical advices which are related to the situation of that movement. They have to protect the knight and future king and also have to keep him on the right track. An important issue here is that the appearance of the *panakawan* has actually nothing to do with the development of the drama performed. Together with their master they form an enclosed little world and

whatever they say does not need to contribute to the building-up of the intrigue or the progress of the dramatic development. Because of this, the *banyolan*, the humoristic scene in which the *panakawan* appear, becomes entirely free for remarks and comments which have no relation at all to the drama performed.

One of the traditions in *wayang* is that strange or modern words are not allowed to be used by the *dalang*, except in clown scenes. The *dalang* may even take refuge in one or two sentences in English. Considering that the rest of the *wayang* play takes place in a mythical and timeless past it is striking that the *dalang* is allowed to make anachronistic jokes only by means of comedy. The clowns may be talking about the recent high price of rice or may be expressing critical remarks about the local administrative machinery. It does not matter where the play is performed, whether at the court or in rural communities, no one can resent the criticism. By this means the *dalang* gives critical comments on recent happenings which appeal to his audience, explains things which they do not understand and relates amusing incidents which they like to hear anew. One of the first things done by a travelling *dalang* at his arrival in a village is to find out about the recent events in the village, so that at the time of the performance he is fully informed about all kinds of village matters.

All Indonesian rulers fell back upon *wayang* as a traditional instrument with which, by means of the *panakawan*, the authorities could convey modern messages to the common man. Examples of the use of *wayang* for family planning programmes are given by Astawa, Foley, and others.

With the help of the *wayang* stories about the victory of the five Pendawa over the hundred Kurawa brothers, the difference between quality and quantity of the number of children was explained rather simplistically. When with these campaigns radio was used, midnight hour suddenly became, Eschenbach (1979) said, the *panakawan*-hour, the hour at which the *banyolan* in the *wayang-kulit* performance starts.

Generally speaking one could say that the audience was not very pleased with this kind of teaching. *Dalang* who were all too willingly to engage themselves for this government propaganda ran and still run the risk to lose their customers, because what the public expects from the *panakawan* happened to be just the opposite. Because of their immunity as the hero's divine mentors and advisers the *panakawan* are pre-eminently suitable to function as a means to utter the uncomfortable feelings towards the government which live among the people. It is expected of the *dalang* that he dares to criticise social evils felt by the common man, such as the abuse of power and corruption by government officials, police or army. The *panakawan* are expected to be the common man's mouth-piece to make known his grievances and not as speaker for a paternalistic government which is not at all pleased with participation and criticism.

Indian traditions

India, too, has a considerable richness of traditional and popular theatre forms. In most of these theatre forms the inhabitants of the Indian villages are familiar with, according to Mathur (1963), two basic characters which are easily recognized: the clown (*vidushaka*) and the narrator-cum-stage manager (*sûtradhâra*). Originally derived from the traditional Sanskrit plays, these basic characters interpret the story for the audience, relate scenes, comment upon the content of the scenes, and add a touch of contemporaneity to the tales of long ago.

According to Huizinga (1897) the *vidushaka* was originally a *brahman*, who despite his high rank and position mocks everyone and who speaks the informal language of the common man (*prâkrit*). Just like his Javanese colleagues the *vidushaka* is the limit of ugliness, nevertheless the impression is made that we have to do with a guest extremely popular with the people. According to Tilakasiri (1968) the clownish figures, derived from the *vidushaka*, appear in all kinds of Indian theatre forms, including puppet theatre.

According to Tilakasiri (1968:5) "The *Vidushaka*, the jester or witty companion, (*narma-suhrd*) of the Sanskrit drama, has been the subject of many controversial theories. These have ranged from the attempts to connect him with the magic and ritual of the ceremonial cults on the one hand to the interpretation of his ludicrous, idiotic behaviour as a representation of his stupid origin on the other. The character and personality of the *Vidushaka* has assumed the form in which he appears in the classical drama due no doubt to the attributes and qualities with which he has been invested by a wide range of dramatists in the early period of Sanskrit literature. But right through the various stages of his evolution one sees unmistakably his coarse and clownish nature which goes back to his popular origin in the folk play".

Tiwari relates among others of the use of the buffoon in a puppet-show in Bihar (Madhya Pradesh): "The message conveyed was investment in life insurance. The story of the play was built round the trials and triumphs of a peasant Sukh Lal, who was caught in the clutches of the village money lender who was an old man that took fancy for Sukh Lal's daughter and proposed to marry her. When all avenues of help and kindness were shut up, Sukh Lal's younger brother returned home. With the money he got from his life insurance policy, the debt was paid off and a decent marriage was arranged for the girl. The play was full of fun and humour. The subtle machinations of the old moneylender as he prepares to marry the young girl, the antics of his servant who acts as a buffoon provide humour throughout the play".

Although, apart from the clown, in some folk dramas like Jatra and Nautauki in India, various other characters are permitted to improvise dialogue, Dissanayake rightly remarks that the clown plays a vital part in the construction and the development of the plays. He can, and often does, indulge in impromptu

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improvisations pertaining the contemporary social events, as the clown in Vithinatakam in India and in Sokari in Sri Lanka.

Ranganath (1976) relates how folk performing troupes from the coast of Karnataka (South India) were selected and persuaded to include in the content of their performances messages referring to the family welfare plan. For this purpose Yakshagana was chosen, the well-known traditional dance drama in which, in beautiful costumes, the divine characters are portrayed, who are the principal characters in this epic tale. Originally Yakshagana was an art form closely related to the temple rituals. In spite of these ritual ties it was very popular with the rural population. The structure of the plays and the style of acting is very rigid and only little susceptible to change. In these plays it is only the flexible character of the fool that, traditionally, enjoyed much freedom and could comment on contemporary topics. He was thought useful as message carrier. He would be able to come up with new themes and situations.

At first the Yakshagana players were not willing to take in themes like communal harmony, national unity and family planning. Despite the fact that it was the clown who would express these messages, they feared that it would affect the dignity of the divine characters. Experiments were made and the fool was comic, sarcastic and even moralistic and did a fine job. On inquiry it appeared that the modern message had not got across to the audience. The actor playing the fool was asked to emphasize his message a little so that the audience would take it more seriously. Soon the audience began to dislike the fool and his message. The approach was changed completely. Now the fool laughingly commented on the unreasonable and obstinate attitudes existing towards welfare plans. Some divine characters would then reply, without affecting the traditions of the medium. Now, after some three decades, some Yakshagana groups occupy themselves permanently with this kind of extension work.

By no means all traditional performing groups let themselves be used for such extension work and, according to Dissanayake, there are countless examples in India of the audience taking a hostile attitude towards this kind of modernising messages and walking out angrily. Examples are also known from Sri Lanka. One of the reasons for this is that folk- or indigenous dramas and court dramas, ballads, rituals, recitations etc. in developing countries can be distinguished in two categories, namely those with an open or progressive form and those with a closed or regressive form. Indigenous forms of theatre with a strong ritualistic context do not easily lend themselves to a modern message. Popular kinds of theatre, stripped of ritualistic contaminations and with a flexible structure can be effective in conveying modern messages, provided that they are used sensitively. A mistake often committed by well-meaning extension-workers in agriculture or publicity officers attached to family planning programmes in developing countries is the dictations to village artists on how to convey a modern message. The better way would be to convince the folk artists of the meaningfullness of the intended message, and give them free rein to present it in a manner that they deem fit. If

folk artists are persuaded by the value of the message, they would translate it into dramatic terms in a way that an outsider, however well-intentioned, cannot hope to accomplish.

African roots

Since many African cultures are non-literate, traditional oral means of communication play an important part in the indigenous transference of information. Here oral communication does not only refer to oral narratives (stories, speeches, songs, incantations), drama and puppet shows, dances, games and other expressive play activity, but also to speech surrogates such as 'drum speech'. The audience in an oral-auditive tradition is encouraged to interrupt, to comment, to ask questions and to demand elucidation during the performance. Furthermore, the faces of the performers are known to the audience and the medium is, therefore, personalized.

These traditional media are, therefore, interactional, bringing forth a possible communication between performer and the audience. The performer in Africa is, as in Asia, a born narrator who strings together and comments on the fragmentary and episodic scenes. Hopkins points out how much the African narrator reminds us of the one in Brecht's epic theatre. Humour, clowns and masquerades also play an important part in the African theatre.

Messenger (1971) tells of the satire and ridicule in the indigenous theatre of the Ibibio in Nigeria, and Carr (1951) of the comical sketches in the 'travelling circuses' in Uganda. Hopkins (1972) devoted an entire article to the fierce satire in the theatre in Mali in which current socio-political abuses are heckled. In former days that held for the French colonial civil servants, now for the present governments and its officialdom.

From World War II onwards one of the most lively folk arts in Ghana has been the concert party, in which much humorous satire is used. The history of the concert party can be linked directly to the traditional West African theatre performances in which music, drama and dance are blended and in which the separation between actors and audience is reduced to a minimum. Traditionally, a theatre performance here is not an event by itself as in Asia; in West Africa it is usually part of a whole variegation of rituals and ceremonies.

Among the Kono and Toma of Upper Guinea, and among the Yoruba also, stilt dancers are very popular. They are not only dancers but clowns. Their bizarre behaviour draws laughter from the crowd which, in turn, inspires the players to quips and comic pranks. Thus, we may conclude that traditional African theatre may be dramatic as well as narrative, and never treats the audience as a passive entity, but rather as a collection of active, responsive, and participating human beings, sometimes unified by the play and sometimes divided by it. It is a theatre which demands relevance to the concerns of society, and which attempts to effect some kind of change in the life of man.

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In the savanna regions there are traditionally the professional historians-cum-entertainers (*griots*), and in the wooded areas theatre has developed on the one hand within the masquerades and on the other hand out of the art of story-telling. According to Collins (1976), the latter notably holds good for the Ghanian concert party. It was in the Akan-speaking part of South Ghana, with its abundance of spider stories, where the concert party developed. Traditionally in these stories the narrator used various voices to create the different characters.

According to Gorer (1938), the *griots*, ritual entertainers and clowns, in Senegal form a special caste that practises endogamy. They are outcasts of society and they are not allowed to be buried in the usual sacred cemeteries. Their position is hereditary. Even through migration it is hard for them to escape their position. They are looked down upon by the rest of the population and they are slightly untouchable. Nevertheless the *griots* are indispensable for any kind of song or dance. The function of the *griots* is not limited to making music only. Certainly in Senegal they have more tasks. They accompany their employer and master.

Griots are by tradition attached to families; they are family jesters and buffoons with unlimited license, whose duty it is to keep the company amused; they are the family bards, who learn and recite the family and national history (unless a *griot* can recite your family history for seven generations he is not paid) and the traditional stories and fables; they are the channel by which all gossip and rumour passes, for it is part of their duty to go daily to the marketplace and collect and bring back all the latest news. They are family magicians, who must be present at all ceremonies and whose advice must be taken. They are the first to hold the newborn baby and the last to touch the corps. They are the actual recipients of most gifts given to their patrons. They are the spiritual mentors and guides of the young; they are the women's hairdressers. They console the mourner and comfort the downcast with music and song. They are the family's official boasters, singing their merits, triumphs and wealth on public occasions. They are lower than the meanest servant and often richer and more powerful than the master.

Griots do not only tell their story, they also mime it. Just like the European *jongleurs*, *griots* are wanderers and are often found at annual fairs and festivals. They are all-round actors who create their characters by means of various accents, pitches of voice, dialects etc. In their scenes they enact different characters, both people and animals. The *griot* sings and dances and creates a jolly atmosphere by imitating a swarm of birds, if necessary. He is supported during his act by the rhythms of drums, the coral accompaniment of the audience, the handclapping of women and the laughter and cries of the bystanders, who are closely involved with the performance. He knows how to create the postures, movements and personalities of his characters; stupidity, naivety, humility, price, the coquetry of a young girl or the grating voice of an old man. His gesticulation suggests a lot. One movement of the arms or the legs, one facial expression, is

enough to create an image, to make a caricature. Throughout his performance the ceremonial and theatrical element is clearly visible and manifestly present.

According to Adedeji (1977), this kind of narrative theatre survives by the grace of audience participation. Both the story and the action are based on that. This kind of theatre succeeds in making dramatic action and traditional symbolic communication coincide. As a work of art it employs a form which is directly identifiable and which refers to the social reality in which the audience lives. Philosophical conceptions, religious beliefs and artistic motifs are all brought into play in the course of the narration of a simple story. Time past and time present are manipulated simultaneously as with the clowns in the Javanese and Indian theatre.

Concluding, we may stress that the court jester and the popular jester were not unknown in the ancient Asian and African realms. On the stage, and certainly also off it, they played an important part in the conveyance of news and the commenting on matters. Their own acting - such as that of the *griots* or the *jongleurs* - or the stageplay in which they appeared - such as *wayang* or *yakshagana* - was based on an oral-auditive tradition. This oral tradition was in two ways epic in nature. On the one hand performing arts at the traditional courts dealt with cyclic 'heroic' stories on gods, kings and common men. Because of its oral tradition, theatre in most traditional societies was 'epic' in nature. However, not only the contents but also the way of acting and performing was 'epic' in nature. The style of acting was, and still is, narrative, extravert and, 'enlarged' while the style of staging is episodic, fragmentary and participative.

Information and counter - information

In the modern and technically advanced North Atlantic world, emperors, kings and princes are few and far between. The part of the court-jester has now been taken by political comedians on television. The participation of the audience is substituted for by 'canned laughter'.

But, as Brandon (1967) indicated, in most Third World countries, the traditional and popular forms of theatre are, alongside the modern plays, definitely still known and appeal to large parts of the rural and marginally urban population. Although the monarchs in these countries have been superseded by presidents, both the established machinery of government and the counter-current of scattered political action groups and popular organizations are aware of the power and the information value of theatre as a 'little medium'. It is in these areas that, once again, both the new rulers and the ruled resort to folk, traditional and popular theatre and its spokesman - the fool - to have modern messages proclaimed.

I have discussed the structure of, and characters in Indonesian theatre, in which the farcical interludes and the character of the clown-servant, in particular,

throughout the centuries, served to make the classical themes in the performances topical.

In Indian folk theatre genres, the character of the clown is the perfect carrier of information in situations that contain referential and critical humour about everyday life in Indian society. The clown, after all, connects the philosophical and timeless contents of the main story with contemporary events in social life. In view of this function, and the fact that the character of the clown is the most current and recognizable character in all these different performing genres, it drew the attention of the Indian Ministry of Information.

This Ministry started an investigation into the way in which these popular theatre traditions could be used for information purposes on behalf of the government, specifically with the help of the character of the clown. The clown often loses himself in direct observations that are related to current social events. According to Dissanayake, (1977:124), this is the perfect place to effectively introduce modern messages into folk plays, without violating the essential artistic composition.

However, as Kashyap (1976:70) rightly noted, it can also create a counter-effect. A large number of experiments with Indian theatre genres are known in which developmental messages were announced through the character of the court jester, or the *vidushaka*. After all, traditionally, this character embodied the feelings of the audience on stage, and commented on current events that the audience recognized. The tragedy of the *vidushaka* character, with his promising flexibility, was that the audience did not pay attention to the 'serious' element of the message because it was delivered by a jester. In such cases, the desired result can only be achieved if the actor, carefully and in a well-balanced way, assesses the audience's expectations.

So, not every theatre group is willing to dedicate itself to state propaganda unconditionally, or is comfortable with the policy of the authorities regarding development campaigns. When the World Food Conference was held in Colombo (Sri Lanka), in seventies Sri Lankan street theatre groups used the opportunity to perform a number of critical skits to confront the attending experts from all over the world with the contradiction between talking about 'hunger' and suffering from it. The skits had ironical titles such as *Keep Sri Lanka clean, drop all your contraceptives into this basket*, or *Food for them, pills for us*. In these skits, the Sri Lankan clowns in particular, the *bahubuthayas*, alternately ridiculed participating in conferences, sitting at richly adorned tables, and the hassles of the *gerant* Malthus to keep the hungry and obtrusive Sri Lankans out of the conference room (Asian Action 1977:40-41).

Whereas, for the motivation and promotion of literacy and health campaigns in rural areas, folk or traditional theatre forms were often turned to, in the campaigns to recruit trainers and animators, popular theatre forms were more often made use of.

But why the fool as main character to promote development - supporting messages? Because the fool makes jokes about both the highest and lowest strata of society. At the same time he offers realism and contemporaneity. "Poets and clowns have always risen up against the oppression of creative thought by dogma. They expose literal-mindedness with metaphor. They demonstrate the follies of seriousness in a framework of humour" (Illich 1979).

How do the audience react to this wave of information through the mouth of the clown? Not with undivided enthusiasm, but biding their time. According to Clara van Groenendael (1982:289) they stroll off to have a cup of tea and a chat until the information is over. Evidently the public does not care for this outright didactic and unilateral approach and suspends its views. Clown actors all too easily lending themselves to information campaigns jeopardize their popularity and their breadwinning.

The audience have always expected different layers of meaning in the jokes of the clowns, including at least their own opinions. Unsubtle jesting for the sake of information concerning new types of rice, transmigration questions or birth control are considered transparent, not funny. The people are equally averse to direct references to the pill or the condom. In popular theatre clown figures may be traditionally regarded as divinely inspired counsels, nevertheless the audience will reject his message if his jokes fail to 'catch the right tone'. It requires a delicate handling of things, which can at least prove to do justice to the views of the spectators. Unequivocal messages will make the clown unattractive.

Particularly in Asia the clown is supposed to be the mouthpiece of the man in the street, not of the paternalistic authorities. Whenever the clown is felt to disregard the audience's feelings and practices concerning such issues as family planning, his lines are bound to lose their informative impact. Once he becomes unambiguous, the audience will turn away.

Final remarks

Hamelink (1978:122) stresses the unchanging importance of traditional and popular theatre as culture bearers which may lend a vital contribution to national awareness. At first sight it looks obvious to use these types of theatre as a means of popular information. They are less expensive than modern media. They use the language and the symbols of the general public. Through the ages they have required active audience participation, which allows immediate feedback. Finally, these media enjoy credibility in the eyes of the public.

This credibility is both the power and the weakness of these theatre genres, the more so when (clown) actors are expected to impart messages alien to the medium. Designers of development-supporting information materials have been rather careless in dealing with the trade of the performers. Bits of dialogue were imposed on the actors in the expectation that they would memorize these and

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literally fit them into the scenes. Such a practice clashed with the oral tradition and the improvisation skills of the clown, elements taken for granted by the audience in these plays within the play. The lines written by the designers did not work. As a consequence nowadays the clown actor is at liberty to interpret, incorporate and adapt the information as he sees fit. It is up to him, after all, to sense the atmosphere among the audience, and to decide what can and what cannot be said.

The painful fact in the examples presented from India and Indonesia is that designers and audience share one and the same culture. Either group is aware of the comic mechanisms within their own culture. Yet they no longer speak the same language with respect to understanding eachother in the 'athletic' idiom of the clown's joking.

However, according to Lee (1961) laughter and humour are one of the uniting human factors the world over. Even though the situation which makes an Indian laugh may be quite different from that which makes a Chinese, African or European laugh, this in no way hinders the universal sense and freedom of laughter. If an audience enjoys itself the chances are that the impact and effect of the message contained in the drama will certainly be remembered and discussed.

But the fool would not be the fool if he were to lose his ambiguous character. The fool often is neither traditional nor modern. First and foremost he is a mediator between traditionalism and modernization, between ruler and ruled, between his employer and the audience.

However, the audience is not used to the fool straightforwardly giving them advice on fertilizers, family-planning or better nutrition. The audience expects the fool to comment on his own message in a carefully balanced and comical way. If he over-emphasizes the instructive side of his message people will consider his exposé as one big, sarcastic joke or they will jeer at him for his seriousness. But sometimes these traditional artists can be successfully combined with the modern media. In Senegal the *griot* secures the transmittance of the national history by songs on radio and television.

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6.
Popular theatre in processes of social change

To the anthropologist studying the value or meaning of folk, popular, or people's culture, the most obvious question also hits on the heart of the matter as to the problem of definition: which part of the population is considered as the people and by whom ? Ask that question to the participants of the Inuit (North Arctic) or those of the Asmat (Irian Jaya) culture, and the question will remain unanswered, or - so as to humour the researcher - those participants will answer 'We are the people'. As any culture is guilty of a certain amount of ethnocentricism by allotting itself the central part in its conception of culture, this answer is not strange. All people belonging to the Inuit or Asmat culture are 'the people'. Everyone not belonging to that culture is an outsider, a stranger, potential enemy, or even non-human.

Naturally every cultural community in the North Atlantic entertains exactly the same idea, but the ethics belonging to our world-views forbid formulating that idea in such an outspoken manner. The reason for this is largely the fact that the word 'people' in the North Atlantic world, throughout history, has acquired different connotations, of which the most recent persistent is that 'the people' consist of those that work with their hands, or that 'the people' consist of the whole population of a state, of "a large social system with a set of rules that is enforced by a permanent administrative body" (Chirot 1977:11). The first connotation of 'people' refers to a class-distinction, whereas the second refers to an administrative and internationally political distinction, i.e. to everybody who is registered as a citizen. "Undoubtedly the concept of the modern national state belongs to the European world of ideas" stated Locher (1956:186). And the Inuit and Asmat do not know either of these distinctions because these notions do not belong to their 'reality'. Specialization and the distribution of labour is still minimal, and the idea of a 'mother country', a Nation, or a State is alien to their worldview. They only know these alien worldviews since they have to pay tax, the former to Denmark and Canada, the latter to Indonesia.

The mode of production of the Inuit and the Asmat is pre-industrial. They provide for themselves by hunting. The original ceremonial or ritual performances of these peoples may have centred round institutions such as hunting, curing, agriculture, birth, health care, child care, marriage and death, but they already included many of the elements that are still characteristic of contemporary performances.

Hunters and gatherers are permanently or semi-permanently 'on the move' to provide for themselves in their primary resources for survival: food. And in their worldview the concept of 'the people' is synonymous to the sum total of the participants of their culture. This changed with societies that provided for

themselves by agriculture and stock-breeding. This mode of production required a sedentary or semi-sedentary settling pattern and led to other social forms of organization in which a more complicated distribution of labour became a precondition for survival.

Growing urban centres

According to Goudsblom (1988:10) three ecological or rather technical revolutions have radically changed our natural environment and the development of human existence during the past millennia. Both had to do with man's increasing control over the natural environment. The first one was the domestication of fire, making it possible to produce military as well as agricultural equipment. The invention of agriculture and cattle-breeding made it possible for man to give up his nomadic existence as hunter and collector and to settle himself permanently in one place. By this neolithic revolution the natural landscape changed into a cultivated landscape. The collecting of food was replaced by the producing of food. And finally, the third reform had to do again with the domestication of fire or rather energy. It was the industrial revolution, making possible the serial production of goods.

Thus societies arose which, by grace of a surplus of food, were able to release a small minority of the population from tasks in the production of food. This small elite found a full-time professional existence in the sphere of trade and industry (especially metal-work), governmental administration, social control, justice, religion, science and art. These professions were mainly carried out in urban centres. Writing made possible a cumulative growth of knowledge. Initially the art of writing, reading and arithmetic was in the hands of a few specialists (secular and clerical civil servants). As these skills were more and more 'popularised' the cities blossomed out as intellectual centres.

However, sedentary cultures are vulnerable cultures because they are on the one hand dependent on uncontrollable natural forces, such as the weather and the seasons, and on the other hand a possible victim of human outsiders who might regard a clearly flourishing crop as possible loot. These sedentary cultures, that provided for themselves by agriculture and stock-raising, developed slowly but surely into feudal states, in which specialized population groups came into being that concerned themselves with charming uncontrollable natural forces (the priests), or with undesirable human attacks from outside the community (the warriors). The priests and the warriors were numerically in the minority, but had such a significance for the population that they, as administrative power, were naturally regarded as the rulers of the people or population. Therefore, the first urban centres developed as small strongholds of a political and religious elite.

Thus, militarily the greatest power and safety was in the centre of the principality, close to the regional ruler and warlord. On the edges of the region, often demarcated by naturally insurmountable borders (rivers and ravines) and

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inhospitable areas (forests, mountain ridges, or deserts), the physical safety which the apparatus of power could offer, was smallest.

It is to no surprise that subjects in turbulent times looked for shelter and safety around the fortress. Some c··en settled there permanently. And in this way outside the ramparts hovels, cottages and small living quarters arose which also required provisions of their own. That was the origin of an endogenous urban development of which we find examples scattered all over the world. In the centre are the ruler and his court, clerks and armyleaders. Next to that a group of inhabitants, traders, craftsmen and merchants who acted as intermediaries between the centre and the periphery, between the court and the vast empty countryside beyond it.

It goes without saying that, socially, the rise of the towns was not without influence upon the political and religious structure of the citystate. According as the towns grew they also became more and more unsurveyable. Safety towards the outside equalized safety towards the inside. The monarch was on the alert for a traitor inside his own gates, the more his town became a place of refuge for people from in- and outside his country.

Secular and clerical rulers were hand and glove. The nobility and the landed gentry were the ones to receive their tribute and taxes from the sedentary pastoral and agricultural communities over which they ruled. Although agriculture and, in some cases, the breeding of cattle guaranteed a steady source of income, this economy was also extremely vulnerable to enemies. He who fled left his land, his income and possessions behind, and into the hands of the intruders. Hence the palisades or ramparts gave shelter and protection to the martially trained nobility, warlords and army leaders, who formed the principal court, together with some clerks and some administrators.

The rise and development of cities is very typical of the Euro-Asiatic continent. This does not mean that pre-colonial Africa and America did not know a similar urban development. We know the large pre-Columbian cultures of Central and Latin America primarily through what has been left behind of their urban centres. But North-American rural cultures too, as that of the Iroquois, the Pueblos and the Navahos settled in clearly sedentary communities, which, because of their organisation and structure, remind us of the city.

We also encounter such sedentary dwelling-communities where the tribe's chief or king held residence and court in pre-colonial Africa. Known are the stone fortresses in Zimbabwe. These were court-capitals. But apart from such a clearly recognizable incitement to the forming of a city, one found permanent settlements along travel-routes, by the sea as well as in the interior. Wellknown examples of these are the city-states (such as Timbuktu) in Mali, but also the pre-colonial trading towns along the east coast of Africa.

This kind of settlements, court capitals and city states, attracted people all over the world. Court capitals were in the first place in need of craftsmen, such as a blacksmith for the tools and arms, a cook or courtier for the food household

and preparation, and such like. This was the beginning of an early-industrial branch which is nowadays still referred to as artistry. These artisans who kept these small-scale cottage industries running, in their turn transmitted their knowledge and skill to apprentices.

These regional centres were to be provided with raw materials and food. So traders too with their diverse commerce were attracted. Finally the court was to be entertained. Within the ramparts there were, of course, some specialists allied to the monarch, who offered entertainment. But generally this was a ceremonious form of entertainment which often had a socio-religious character and serving the perpetuation of the monarch's power. So artists were recruited, also from the outside, from the people.

Examples of such court-societies can be found all over the world. In these court-societies the notion 'people' is no longer synonymous with the participants of a culture. On the one hand 'people' referred to the subjects of a king. And the number of subjects used to change as the king expanded his realm. On the other hand 'people' referred to the small-plot farmers and landless labourers in the rural areas. It is in this context that one often uses the term 'high' culture at court or in aristocratic circles, and 'low' culture such as lived among the peasant population. Other distinctions used in this context are those between 'great' and 'little' tradition; or those between 'court theatre' and 'folk theatre'. In a very simplified fashion you might say that folk theatre was particularly found at community or village level, whereas court theatre was to be found in wooden palisadings at first, and later in the fortified castles where the king kept court. The traditions did not neglect each other. Their relation was complementary but also antagonistic, they complemented each other but also excluded one another.

Of course the king, who in many cultures had a religious function as well, saw to it that he kept in touch with what happened on a cultural level among his population. Often his presence, because of the sacral value of kingship, was required at celebrations and festivities that the population organized. It cannot be said therefore that court and folk tradition developed completely separately. But if the aristocrats had access to the people's festivities and theatrical performances, usually the people did not get the chance to participate in the court performances. And even if the people could, by approximation, keep in touch with courtly dramatic art, it did not have the means or time to achieve the same 'refinement' in their popular versions as at court.

King and court did not only have a different taste than the 'people' as regards theatre, but as regards their complete cultural experience, that was given concrete form in differences in food preparation, clothing, housing, and particularly customs, habits and any other cultural conventions. Complicated rules came into being on how to behave at court. A royal menu alone required a specialized staff of suppliers and servants.

The bourgeois and the villains

This was different with the group of townsmen who would not return anymore to the rural life. These townsmen had brought along their rural folk traditions but were regularly confronted with the glamour of the court's culture. They looked down upon their own background and up to what they never would achieve. They were stuck between the little and great tradition and looked for an identity of their own.

Within court-society there was no real role to find in the three estates for this new group of urban-oriented craftsmen, artisans, pedlars and tradesmen. They were not part of 'the people' (the rural population), nor of the priests, nor of the nobility.

As these urbanized areas started to develop an urban culture, this part of the population was also called the 'bourgeois'. Initially the term 'bourgeois' referred to the inhabitants of a castle (*bourg*), a fortified dwelling place. On the other hand there were the inhabitants in the rural areas (*villains*) who lived in open and vulnerable settlements. The distinction between these first towns and rural settlements went even further than merely the geographical settling patterns. Also the nature of their professions differed. The rural people provided the primary necessaries of life, but also the raw materials that the artisans and tradesmen processed or sold.

For lack of autonomous cultural tradition but also as a meeting-place for all kinds of cultural expressions from the different winds of the region and even from beyond that, the life of the townsman had something of a liberal character. The slogan was 'live and let live'. In this melting pot various cultural forms of expression influenced and inspired one another and, historically, popular theatre arose.

It would be too simple to state that forms of popular theatre stood midway between folk and court theatre. Though one may find signs of both in popular theatre. Forms of popular theatre differ though from rural and court traditions because, as entertainment, they were less closely connected to a religious or cosmological frame. They were more secular and less stringently tightened to religious feastdays or festivities. They offered more space to innovating finds of individual artists and so also to a change in aesthetic conceptions. Despite these significant differences, they were, as far as design and theme are concerned, not free from the influence of rural and court theatre. Sometimes they even partially formed a blueprint of it but often popular theatre was a reaction to this more conventional theatre.

These *bourgeois* created their own cultural and theatrical tradition, for which the use of the term 'popular theatre' for the first time is appropriate. Popular culture here refers to the development of cultural forms in societies in which one can speak of growing urbanization, early forms of industry (serial production), and a social organization based on class-distinctions. Popular culture, in this case,

is an urban phenomenon which, on the one hand, reacts against and on the other hand derives its meaning from court as well as folk culture. In the eyes of the *bourgeois*, folk culture was rather 'archaic' with all its supernatural religious and cosmological references. Court culture, not only through its inaccessibility as regards the *bourgeois*, but also through the strict conventions, acquired the meaning of 'traditional' and even 'classic'; epithets not unwelcome to the nobility with their taste for distinction[1].

As the economic and political power of the *bourgeois* increased, a new era began in which class-society, as the ruling form of social organization, was gradually to replace the three-estate court society, giving way to the industrial mode of production which, economically speaking, emphasized the production of commercial goods rather than the production of primary resources such as are provided by agriculture.

Resulting from this new (industrial) mode of production connected with a new social system (based on class-distinctions), a new definition arose of what 'people' consisted of. The term 'the people', in this case too, was defined through a specification of the distribution of labour, and indicated that part of the population that had nothing else to provide for themselves than their (manual) labour. The people, therefore, referred to, on the one hand, the peasants, agricultural labourers and factory-workers, and on the other hand, the sum total of residents of the State, the citizens.

The *bourgeois* had a certain view of culture, and this was a rather pecuniary view. Culture, including art, was expressed in its products, and these products represented an economic value. Culture and art were for sale and could be sold. The State, however, had a slightly different view of culture, due to its administrative responsibilities. To the State, culture was partly identified with national cultural heritage, which represented the history of the people. But as 'the people' meant, for the State, the sum total of its residents, history as well as culture were very carefully defined in order not to offend certain parts of the population.

Kabuki in Japan: the development of popular theatre

In the 16th century Japan consisted of a number of principalities: shogunates. These rulers saw their position consolidated by a strong religious structure. The court was martially organised. Each ruler had a number of knights (*samurai*) at his disposal who on the basis of personal ties and out of loyalty defended the principality. If the nobleman died his knights would have lost their master and would leave his territory. They became knights errant (*ronin*), drifting samurai looking for a new master. Around the settlements of these regional rulers the first Japanese cities arose in a way as was described above. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the living quarters of these towns in the turbulent Japan were kept well under control.

On the basis of status, aligned to a profession, one was placed in a specific quarter. There were special quarters of entertainment, where trade, gambling and prostitution existed side by side. It must have been quite some frivolous period compared to the later so pious Japan. Teahouses offered entertainment by professional entertainers, clowns and dancers. Prostitution was common practice for all kinds of entertainers, male as well as female. Dancers, actors, *joruri*-reciters, musicians as well as young wanderers, calling themselves nuns or monks or who earned their living as pedlars, offered themselves here.

The nobility had its own ceremonious entertainment, among others the traditional Noh theatre. This religiously toned mask-play, with its mythical heroic stories about gods and kings and its stringent theatrical conventions, was only reserved for the aristocratic families. It was absolutely not open to the large audience of the cities. That is why in the cities in the beginning of the 17th century a form of entertainment arose which was to grow into the *Kabuki* theatre. In its original form Kabuki was genuine popular theatre. It was a reaction of, for and by the people, to the elistist Noh. Because there are not any actresses in the Noh theatre, it is perhaps not that remarkable that the origin of Kabuki was an initiative of women.

Temple dancers had of old been associated with prostitution. They wandered about, as beggar nuns, singing and dancing. These songs and lyrics were because of their secondary profession not always religious. When one of these dancers, Okuni, settled in Kyoto permanently and brought a programme of contemporary and farcical standard sketches, mingled with erotic songs and dances, her performances became so extremely popular that she was rather soon imitated by scores of groups of female prostitutes, spread all over town.

Although Okuni's contribution to the rising of Kabuki had not been much more than that of many travelling entertainers of that time, she had been the first to perform in the dry river-bed of the Kamo river. The performances were not just popular with the people, but also with the hot-tempered knights errant. They had their favourites amongst the actresses. And quite a few times this led to jealousy and so to fights. The regional rulers were by no means happy with these disturbances and because of the riots of 1608 the groups were banned to a special 'red light district'. In this way the so-called 'courtisans' Kabuki arose, in which the actresses did not do much more in their acting on stage than winning customers for after the performance.

In 1612 the first stage was erected in the river-bed of the Kamo. The early 'playhouses' copied the rudimentary construction used for (few public) *no*-performances, through which money was collected for, for instance, the repairs of temples. It consisted of a simple square platform with a roof. It was enclosed by a bamboo fence. Spectators payed entrance fees. The common man had to stand in the open air. For some dignitaries there were covered lodges.

But the accommodating of this early form of Kabuki did by no means diminish the disturbances around the theatre and in the brothel. In 1629 the limit

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was reached. Women were prohibited by decree to play in Kabuki. With this banishment of women from the stage the government aimed, on the one hand, at the separation of the profession of prostitute and actress, and, on the other, at social order and stability in the city. In the following two centuries not one woman appeared on the Japanese stage. Their parts were from this day forward played by young men. Thus 'boys Kabuki' arose.

The plots in the sketches of 'boys Kabuki' could be divided into two categories, first those in which homosexual love and the beauty of the boys were central elements and, secondly, the plots in which the techniques of how to address a whore were central issues. The latter theme was a remainder of 'women Kabuki'. As one can see the decree of 1629 had by no means removed the erotic character of Kabuki.

Homosexuality was common amongst the soldiers from the 15th and 16th centuries and also in the Buddhistic monasteries. During the 17th century some shoguns too expressed their preference for beautiful boys. And for the common people homosexuality was neither an unfamiliar phenomenon. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the introduction of 'boys Kabuki' the problem of prostitution and social unrest did not disappear. In 1648 homosexual prostitution was officially prohibited. But with little result, thus bringing on in Edo in 1652 the governmental prohibition for boys performing in Kabuki. So 'men Kabuki' arose.

To avoid any form of attractiveness these older actors had to shave off the hair from their foreheads. The actors covered this baldness with a wig. The accent of these performances now grew to be on acting achievements rather than on physical attractiveness. Gradually stringent theatre conventions developed for the Kabuki-theatre. Governmental interventions have, ironically enough, resulted in a change of the performances so popular among the people from a farcical happening into a very serious form of art.

Kabuki, as we know it nowadays, became a model of and for the Togukawa period. On the one hand, Kabuki formed a reflection of the social ideals and the worldview of this period. On the other hand, Kabuki, well liked by the nobility as well as by the well-to-do classes, had been setting the fashion for society. The new patterns which stage transvestites (female impersonators) used for their dresses became fashionable for the class of rich merchants. The refined behaviour, the reverence, and the *etiquettes* which were shown on stage served as examples for the woman of society of that time. Hair ornaments, clothes, jewelry, make-up and Kabuki language were imitated by the wives and daughters of the rich.

In this way Kabuki slowly changed from a popular theatre form into *bourgeois* theatre during the Tokugawa era. The Kabuki that is still to be seen in Japan strictly follows, except for a few alterations, the theatre conventions of that period. That is why nowadays one speaks of Kabuki as traditional theatre, with a 'classic' repertory.

The rise of Ludruk as popular theatre on Java

In terms of culture, the rural population of Java can be divided roughly into three categories. The Sundanese live in the west of Java. They speak Sundanese and are rather orthodox Moslems. The Javanese of Central Java speak a very refined version of Javanese and consider themselves to be the direct descendants of the old Javanese court. The East Javanese speak a dialect derived from Central Javanese. The population of Central and East Java is largely Moslem, but their version of Islam is full of pre-Islamic mysticism and animism.

Java has known, since ages, its dance and theatre traditions at the court, in the town, as well as in the country. "Towns, to the extent that they existed in autochthonous Indonesia, were foreign to village life (...), though now they interact more" (Sievers 1974:286). The best known theatre tradition in the urban as well as rural areas is perhaps the *wayang*. Wayang is one of the most widespread theatrical traditions in South-East Asia. In Indonesia the term refers to a variety of theatrical genres which have in common a fundamental story and a specific kind of presentation. The story is based essentially on two epics: *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.

However, at the beginning of this century the Javanese people, in the fast growing cities, already failed to see their image of an urban and dynamic modern world reflected in the wayang. They wanted entertainment, instead of ritually toned and moralistic didactics. Of course, during the ages, many changes had appeared in wayang. Whereas, earlier, the performances were given at strongly religiously toned festivities, today the anniversary of a government-office can be the occasion for a performance. "But apart from such minor changes, the possibilities for innovation in wayang are limited: the stories, characters and underlying philosophy are fixed" (Hatley 1971:92).

In the current Indonesian Republic the court-oriented wayang is now regarded as old-fashioned (*kuna*) because, in a wayang-performance, the traditional social differences are still noticeable. The political and social rulers have, according to Hatley (1971:90), always supported and retained the shadow-theatre, because they have an interest in the worldview that the play transmits, a worldview of a stable society. Moreover, the best places for the audience are still taken by those who can afford the performance, the host or the organising committee.

More recent forms of theatre are *ketoprak* (Central Java), *legong* (Jakarta) and the *ludruk* (East Java). Ketoprak can also be found in the countryside and is labelled as a 'refined' (*alus*) variation of the court-tradition. Some ketoprak-performances are still based on mythical stories, just like the greater part of the wayang-performances. This is in contrast with the legong, for example, in which the stories might be set among Malayan pirates. In these legong-performances the Jakarta dialect is used to provide the audience with a realistic picture of the rough commercial and urban living environment.

Originally, ludruk occurred in the country as well as in the city. In the countryside, it still had the ritual character of traditional theatre. In the city the stage lost its ritual connotation and the actors felt more free in changing traditional forms. Ludruk has become mainly the entertainment for the urban working-class people in the *kampong* of East Java. Because of the fact that ludruk gives rather a realistic image of the every-day events of its audience, it differs from traditional Javanese theatre-forms. Ludruk not only reflects the situation, it also stimulates its audience to accept the changed values.

In the city one perceives the cosmopolitan and urban oriented ludruk theatre as progressive (*madju*) and court-oriented theatre as traditional or old-fashioned (*kuna*). The story line of the scenes in ludruk is modern, the one in wayang is mythic and therefore timeless. Since modern and old-fashioned values often cause friction between young and old in the kampong, the subject regularly reappears in the performances.

All parts are played by men through the entire performance. "A typical ludruk play lasts approximately four hours - from 8 p.m. to midnight" (Peacock 1990:210). Songs and dances that serve to fill in the transitions in the succession of scenes are done by transvestites. Each ludruk performance consists of a fixed sequence of songs, drama and comic interludes. The 'opening' (*ngremo*) consists of a traditional East Javanese dance by a stage transvestite. Then follows the prologue, consisting of songs and short comical sketches by clowns. Then the actual play follows, and is finally succeeded by the closing-scene. There are different sorts of stories for the main performance in ludruk, folk stories (*dongeng*), histories of and legends about heroes in the fight for independence and modern melo-dramas. The latter are most typical of ludruk.

A number of permanent themes return time and again in melodramas, like the adventures of greenhorns who come from the country and settle down in the kampong for the first time. The city is depicted, above all, as modern and progressive. Western clothing, articles of luxury and entertainment prevail. Therefore, melodrama often shows how somebody's values and behaviour patterns change. Take, for example, the matrimonial rules that parents like to see their daughters consider. In the stories of the wayang-theatre the hero, according to traditional matrimonial principles, marries on the basis of ascribed status. According to Miyazaki (1979:31), in the ludruk-theatre, marriage arrangements based on ascribed status are replaced by marriage based on achieved status. In both cases the parents in the story let the marriage be defined, first and foremost, by status and descent while the unhappy young hero and heroine in the story prefer a modern marriage, out of love.

This is why a number of ludruk-plays deal with marrying the partner of your dreams, the one you choose yourself. Yet, ludruk also knows how to deal with the disillusion that the city, in the first instance, brings to happily married couples from the country. This, also, is something the audience feels strongly about. Often, the city fails to provide the richness the young married couple hoped for.

The husband does not find a job and the wife is forced to take care of the house as well as the income. Therefore, the standard-jokes in the intermezzi between the scenes, about dominant wives who sneer at their husbands to 'go and do something' are an integral part of the performance.

As far as the social comment goes, the clown and the transvestite have two clearly separated functions. In traditional wayang the clowns were servants of their noble masters, the heroes of the story. In the performances they represented the people, the peasants over which the monarch reigned. Therefore, the clown was, traditionally, seen as the spokesman, the representative and protector of the common man. By means of their criticism and clownery these clowns made the symbols in the wayang-performances better understandable and acceptable for the 'man in the street'.

Their way of expressing themselves was coarse (*kasar*) in contrast to the refined (*alus*) way in which their masters expressed themselves. Therefore, according to Hatley, the clowns represented a more realistic, down-to-earth view on the world. This is in contrast to the idealistic view on life the noble heroes had. "The clowns represent not so much a rebellion against the prevailing values of wayang - and society - as a mode of adjusting them, a humanizing counter-point" (Hatley 1971:91). Thus, clowns were, of old, free to comment satirically on current politics. The clowns in ludruk from this age-old function, and on behalf of the common man, comment on progression and modernisation as it is, among others, promoted by the present republican government of Indonesia. The clowns clarify, in a subtle way, that it is not so easy for the common man to adapt to modern (*madju*) life. Clowns do not essentially rebel against progressive trends, nor against traditional social values, but indicate the hypocrisy of the new as well as of the old order. By letting a peasant, who has just arrived at his relatives in the kampong, make a mistake between a telephone and a coffee-machine, they show the sad and human aspects of the poor man.

As in wayang, the clowns in ludruk melodramas play the servants of their master. When their master is daydreaming about a career via marriage, education or a good job, they comment on this, ridicule him or parody his behaviour.

The transvestite, on the contrary, is a pronounced exponent of new ideas and ideals. As a man he is able to put on stage modern behaviour patterns of women more realistically in the melodramas than an actress is able to. Traditionally, actresses in Javanese theatre have submissive roles. Within the theatre traditions, the transvestite only is able to comment on stage on equal rights of men and women as advocated on paper by the Republic. Since, in the actuality of every-day Javanese life, a woman arguing with a man is still unheard of, only the transvestite can in his female character, openly go into conflict with 'her' opposite.

Concert party as popular theatre in Ghana

The early history of the concert party is closely connected with traditional West African performances in which music, dialogue and dance were closely related and the division between actors and audience limited.

Present theatrical forms of expression in Ghana can be distinguished in the operatic drama and the literary drama. Even though they are both rooted in and form a representation of Ghanese social life, they differ in the way of presentation. Both owe their development to the same sources, the indigenous Ghanese narrative art and the Western theatre art.

According to Ricard (1976:229-230) operatic drama arose in the first thirty years of this century, from school-performances, cantata (morality plays organised by the church), and silent film. Combined with the tradition of indigenous elocution this brought the concert party into existence. All three forms of operatic drama actually were considered as popular theatre. Yet, whereas folk opera was based on a written text, and cantata on biblical literature, a concert party did not have such basis. These qualities and their musical frame distinguished these three performing arts from literary theatre.

The cantata and the folk opera are strongly aligned to the indigenous 'dance-drama', a form of African theatre in which music, poetry, mime, movement and dance are used.

The first influences of European theatre left their marks in the rising cities along the coast of Ghana, around the turn of the century (Collins 1976:66). The adoption of the stage was introduced via school concerts and school performances. After the first World War Afro-American music, dance and comedy were introduced into the ports by black American sailors and comedians. Black American theatre as well as the Ghanese concert party used second-rate comedies that were performed without a script, and both provided a multilingual, freshly urbanised audience with humoristic satire. Initially, with the influences of the black-and-white-minstrels it had a character strongly reminiscent of vaudeville.

The first black Ghanese comedians were referred to around 1920. In those days, a famous leading-entertainer and some assistants usually formed the pivot. Such an entertainer, like for example the famous Fanti-speaking Bob Johnson, played a number of favourite roles and, besides that, hired assistants who played stock-characters. Thus grew a number of fixed parts, such as the 'joker', the 'gentleman', the 'transvestite', the 'minstrel' and the 'clown'. The latter derived his reputation, his jokes, his techniques and skills mainly from the trickster-stories (Anansesem).

The concert party, grown into a contemporary comic opera, remained one of the most popular folk arts in Ghana after World War II. This theatre, then, permanently formed a synthesis of Western and indigenous elements, arisen from the impact of western musical and dramatic influences on traditional stage-arts. Whereas the first concert parties were given in the ports along the coast and

performed for a literate, better situated and black urban audience, after World War II, the concert parties were clearly directed at a different audience: at the common man in the city or the peasant in the countryside. Just like in ludruk theatre on Java, they formed the entertainment for the new migrants in the city and no longer, as in the twenties, for a small black urban elite. The concert parties combined spontaneous dialogue with music and action to dramatize simple themes, derived from every-day social life.

The concert play is a musical comedy containing elements of slapstick and a moral undertone. In South Ghana it is performed in the Akan language. Music punctuates the dialogue of the actors, and the lyrics of the songs are relevant for the plot of the play. The music that is used is 'highlife': a syncretic music-form of West African and European music[2]. The actors portray, in a humoristic and exaggerated way, situations and stereo-types that are known to the audience. According to Lokko (1977) the audience reacts with intensive participation. The various plays have not actually been written down. There is a sort of script. The plays are mainly moralities and melodramas, with religious elements of the cantata permeated with traditional elements such as sayings, popular language, indigenous music and dance.

In the development of the concert party one has never avoided social criticism from the stage. This however was only done if the spirit of the times and the social and political climate allowed it. Explicit political criticism was never given from the stage. This was always wrapped up in social criticism and moralities. During the fight for independence, however, the parties have clearly expressed themselves as supporting the fight, and, as a result of that, some have devoted themselves to the party-propaganda during the time of Nkrumah.

Thus, the performance in the city takes care of a sort of urban socialization by ridiculing citylife in dramatic *lingua franca*. There is intensive participation of the audience in the form of applauding, screaming, singing, bawling, crying, throwing money etc. Sometimes, one is so touched by the sadness of the character that one goes onto the stage to offer the actor money and food. The characters in the plays represent an average of stereotypes in Ghana. From the countryside, there are the illiterate peasant and the village-eldests. From the city one has the doctors, the bannisters and teachers, the young snobbish civil servant, the adventurous young lady from the countryside. Beside that, several ethnic groups are depicted, such as the northern policeman who speaks a mixture of Hausa, Twi and pidgin-English, the people from Lagos with a strong Yoruba accent, the marketwomen from Accra who speak Ga, and the 'spider'-like devil-cum-clown.

Since the plays deal with the contrast between traditional and modern life in the city, the following themes return regularly in the plays. The misery of: 1) migration: such as the decline to drunkenness, prostitution, violence and decline of traditional values; but also, the obligation to support your family in the country, 2) social stratification: by opposing the hardworking man to the 'elbow-

worker' themes like corruption, poverty and unemployment often return here, 3) cash-crops and a new view on agriculture: one rather grows cash crops to become rich fast than to support oneself by growing staple food, 4) different sexual norms: women become emancipated; polygyny is refused by them; women receive education and experiment with 'family planning'; the man's authority is undermined, 5) the generation-problems: the young modernise faster than the older people would like to see. The songs that are used are traditional indigenous songs; church hymns, gospels, calypsos, rumbas, ragtime, raggae, hard-beat etc.

The groups themselves are very well organised and know a number of unwritten rules. There are fines for all sorts of offences (like drunkenness on stage, fighting). Yet, at the same time, there is a nest-egg that insures the members for the costs of illness, funeral, etc. Tours through the countryside are, nowadays, organised by a producer. He takes care that all is settled for the tour. They perform in the open air, but also in cinemas, nightclubs, squares, community-houses, etc.

During the quiet rain season the members of the band often borrow money from the producer. This system of loans contracts the members for the busy season also, as it were. Since the promoters make gigantic profits a union for members of concert parties now exists in Ghana. Many of the members are still so traditional that they embrocate themselves with all kinds of medicine, or swallow magical drinks that must ensure their success and popularity on stage. Others have imposed taboos on themselves, concerning the eating of certain kinds of food.

The performance of a play consists of an opening, the actual play, and then the conclusion. Originally, the opening took an hour and had an opening-song, a sketch, and a duet in which, in the early days, the minstrels also made jokes. Nowadays, the opening only takes twenty minutes, but it still has a strong vaudeville character of songs and jokes. The show generally starts at nine o'clock p.m. with popular dance music. The performance of the play starts when the theatre is full, which is around eleven o'clock p.m., and then lasts for three hours. Afterwards, the band will play for a short while and around two o'clock the entire show is over. In the busy season this happens every evening.

Final remarks

In this chapter I related popular theatre to the development of different modes of production which still exist next to each other today. Here the assumption is that cultures that exist by hunting and gathering food, are socially differently organized than cultures in which industry provides for society. In this way I tried to arrive at a more accurate historical description of the notion of popular culture and popular theatre, of which, in my opinion, we can only speak in early industrial, industrial, and post-industrial societies. The emphasis in these three

distinctions is on the word industry, which refers implicitly to the demographically interesting phenomenon of urbanization.

The anthropologist Victor Turner (1977:34-35) made a slightly different distinction. To him a society with a simple social organization in non-urban surroundings primarily seeks refuse to ritualistic performances, which are often referred to as indigenous forms of theatre by others. He brought forward that feudal societies, both in the city and in the country, know ritualistic as well as theatrical performances, which are usually given within the frame of seasonal festivals, such as mask-plays and the like. Modern industrial societies know the carnival and the theatre, while the electronically advanced societies use more and more mediated performances such as film and television.

Therefore, 'indigenous theatre' refers, be it implicitly, to the performing arts of cultures that provide for themselves by hunting and gathering food. Also the theatrical performances of cultures that provide for themselves by shifting cultivation, or simple stock-breeding, used for their own consumption, are referred to as having an 'indigenous theatre tradition'. Sometimes also the terms 'native' or tribal' theatre are used in this context. Therefore, today policy makers and civil servants in countries which have among their population hunting and food-gathering cultures speak on behalf of the government in general of the tribal, ethnic, indigenous or native performing arts of these groups of the population.

As regards those areas of the country where the population primarily provide for themselves by means of sedentary forms of agriculture and/or stock-breeding, the term 'folk theatre' remains in use, but also the term traditional theatre is used, and in some cases even popular theatre. Traditional theatre, in the sense of 'classic' theatre, is also used to give new, modern, *avant-garde* or contemporary theatre developments a more general historical meaning. At the same time the terms traditional and classic theatre still refer to a part of the cultural heritage, without regard to which tradition this theatre had its roots in, whether as peasants' tradition or an aristocratic tradition, whether a rural or an early urban tradition.

Historically speaking Kabuki theatre in 16th century Japan or Tamasha theatre in 19th century India, both have developed out of a genuine urban and popular impulse and out of a popular reaction to the authentic ruling theatrical traditions in Japan and India, without any intervention from the outside 'foreign' world.

Taking a period-related notion as point of departure, those forms of theatre called popular theatre have endogenously developed parallel with the rise of urban areas, the industrial mode of production and the bourgeoisie.

environment modes of production	rural	urban
pre-industrial	ritual tribal native indigenous traditional court	
early industrial	ritual tribal native indigenous traditional	court traditional popular
industrial	ritual tribal native indigenous traditional folk	court popular 'classic'/traditional avant-garde contemporary
post-industrial	ritual indigenous traditional folk media	'classic'/traditional popular avant-garde media contemporary

Figure 3: *Types of performances associated with different times and environment*

Popular theatre was in any case made for and by those groups of the population which, because of social changes, were sandwiched between the cultural traditions of court society and the demands of pre-industrial urban life. The common people and small merchants in the young urban areas in Japan during the late sixteenth century were in this situation, and the same holds for the people who, during the first half of the twentieth century went to the *ludruk* performances on Java or the concert parties in Ghana.

Mganda dance in Lundazi (Zambia)
Photos: Feri de Geus

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Throughout the centuries the city has always attracted the population of the rural areas. The constant influx of migrants had its socio-cultural influences on city and rural areas. The 'modern' urban view demanded an emancipated view on women. But the worldview of the rural areas, still vivid, had its own image of women's behaviour. This was why female impersonators on stage were such a commonly accepted phenomenon in young urban areas. The community did not allow a woman to speak out openly in favour of social changes, in every-day life, nor on the stage. However, in social environments encouraging people to change the role of women, the woman on stage was replaced by a man in drag, a female impersonator who openly spoke out on the changing image of the position of women in society.

7.
Performing arts and indigenous education in Africa

In Africa, dance, drama, elocution, poetry and music cannot be disconnected. In a theatrical as well as in a ritual context, music derives its full meaning from the social world it is part of, and is, as such, also able to explain the aspects from that world. The principle of the sharing of life-experience and the mutual helping out in life-crises is, just as with age-groups, an important social aspect in music and dance. All traditional dances of Africa know their own rhythmic instruments and drums. However, because of continuous migrations and the trade-routes instruments from outside the area are also used. The guitar came through and became popular. Nowadays, Africa is full of pop-bands and popular music, which is a mixture of African and foreign influences.

Music, dialogue, singing and dancing also serve as mechanisms for social control. In this, the medium derives its power from repetitive patterns. Rhythms, melodies and refrains are reiterating elements, which stay in one's mind, as with 'count-out-songs'. If the lyrics have moral contents you are bound to remember the message. This does not mean, however, that there are no elements of change in this. The melody often remains the same but the lyrics can easily be adapted to modern times and ethics. And this is what happens.

Music is generally seen as a universal language. Yet, ethnomusicologists have declared that what is called music in one group or society is not necessarily music for another group. If we consider this, we can best define music as "culturally selected types of sound organised into specific patterns, representing audible utterances that are recognized within society as artistic and communicative" (Mensah 1968:1).

In African music we can make two rough, yet clear, distinctions. First, there are those types of music which are inspired by divergent musical trends of the twentieth century, and which we hear during Christian Church services, school-singing, in nightclubs and disco. This type of music can be purely foreign, or a mixture of African and North Atlantic musical elements, or mainly African. Secondly, there is the purely traditional or indigenous music, in which percussion is most prominent, "off-beat phrasing of melodic accents, the presence of polymetre and a metronome sense as an essential quality in those who make the music" (Mensah 1971).

With the Bemba, living in Zambia, yet also with other African cultures, the structural organisation in the playing of the drums emphasizes the mutual dependence of the members of several sex- and age-groups in society.

With the Bemba the drums with the low tones are 'feminine' and are played with the left hand, while the drums with the high tones are 'masculine' and played with the right hand.

In an ensemble of three drums, there are always two drums that play an independent set rhythm, while the third drum has no set rhythm. The first drum plays a fairly simple basic-rhythm. This drum serves as a metaphor for 'the child'. The second drum plays a slightly more difficult rhythm than the first one. The rhythm can be the same but, for example, with the addition of an off-beat. This drum is the metaphor for 'the adolescent'. When the first drummer has started, and the second drummer joins in, a third rhythm comes into existence. The third drummer, or the master-drummer, joins in with and uses this third rhythm. He improvises several rhythmic patterns and produces the rhythmic harmony which completes the whole. This drummer stands for 'adulthood'. In the case of a mistake only the master-drummer may stop and correct the others.

Naturally, all three drummers contribute to the success of the performance. Not one of the three can be missed. Yet, just as in the Bemba-society, it is left to 'the adult' drummer to correct. This metaphoric tripartite is reflected in the singing and the dancing also. The master-drummer plays in accordance and communicates with the master-dancer or the solo-singer.

As a result of research with the Bemba, Mapoma (1978:36-39) revealed that the structural organisation of African songs, generally, consists of solo and chorus or of leader and choir. Thus, there are always two parties involved. The amount of participants in the parties is beside the question, as long as they can be distinguished.

Often the refrain or the reaction of the choir, does not contribute to the meaning of the song, textually but, instead, it adds, as it were, the punctuation marks to the musical sentence. This 'call and response' structure still survives in solo-performances. A vocalist who accompanies himself on the Kalimba, for example, sings his solo-part, while he plays the part of the choir on the Kalimba and *vice versa*. In other words, the soloist tries to incorporate both parts in one melody, and thus introduces a variation on the original melody.

That music and singing are perfect media to bring forward opinions considered to be 'the truth' is, once again, confirmed in the function of the court-musician as a public spokesman. African kings have at their disposal a court-musician who plays special music on the royal drums. With the Bemba, these musicians are called *ingomba*, with the Luunda they are called *Abafwalwa*. The court-musician served the king and was kept and paid by him. The royal drums, which are characterized by their size, are also used as 'talking' drum[1]. With the chiefs (Mwate Kazembe) of the Luunda, at new accessions to the throne, not only the royal lineage is recited, but this is also drummed through the entire country by means of the 'talking'drum.

With the Bemba, there is only one way to become the court-musician (*ingomba*) and that is by getting possessed by the spirit of the dead *ingomba* (Mapoma 1980:99). The training of the *ingomba* is a strictly individual matter.

The songs and skills of the ingomba are based on proverbial texts, textual rhythms, but above all on originality. One ingomba is not allowed to play or sing anything of another ingomba. In his dream, the novice is suggested songs by a deceased ingomba, which he repeats a few times in the morning after wakening. Also, the inspiring deceased ingomba can send the novice into trance on the drum at night. This is the reverse of the ordinary training in Africa in which the child learns songs by imitation (singing/echoing) or learns to drum through watching and playing.

"Ingomba serve primarily as praise singer, historians, and watchdogs of democracy and the general conduct of society at large. Their duties are therefore performed in palace as well as out-of-palace contexts" (Mapoma 1980:117). The functions at the palace consist of the brightening up of the monarch, and of the reciting of his power, his goods deeds, his courage, his statesmanship and his popularity. The singing to sleep and the awakening of the monarch is also one of his functions. In the early days, the ingomba was always in the palace. He wished the monarch a goodmorning and a goodnight and accompanied him on his travels. Because of social changes this is no longer the case. At the moment the ingomba serve two masters, the local monarch and the central government (Mapoma 1980:122).

Outside the palace the ingomba serve the people as well as the monarch. He transposes his poems about social morales, anti-social and immoral behaviour in society to songs and music. In public, he is the spokesman of the people and the monarch. They praise or criticize the ruler and his subjects, depending on the context. As long as the ingomba translates his message into music, and does not proclaim by means of the spoken word, he is ensured of immunity against repercussions, because during his singing performance he is possessed by a 'shadow', his ancestor-spirit. Since the ingomba can only sing about something that he considers 'the truth', he is, for the government, not always easily available for the expressing of random propaganda.

It goes without saying that where one can praise through the song, one can also complain of or criticise somebody who does not behave in accordance with socially accepted rules. This function is not only reserved for the ingomba but also for a few older people, who have a complete repertory of short songs (the *infunkutu*) that are conveyed from generation to generation and that deal with almost every aspect of human interaction. They are usually sung in public at beer-parties, and are therefore also known as beer-songs. The older person takes the lead. The surrounding people echo. In this context the following song is self-explanatory:

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

My husband you are a lazy man
who only eats where he did not sow
why don't you go out like other man?

Rites de passage

According to Van Gennep *rites de passage* know three phases, i.e. separation, transition, and reintegration. The initiation ritual explicitly gives the novice a new status, from childhood to adulthood. In those cultures in which the initiation ritual matters, and uninitiated can never have the status of adulthood and will have difficulties in finding a sexual partner or a companion for life within his/her own society.

The initiation is most often considered to be a social drama to the community. First there is the explanation of how the child is separated from the community in time and space. Then the exposition follows saying that the child mainly receives a condensed training in knowledge and skills necessary for its new status of adulthood. The *denouement* consist of the child's reacceptance in time and space in the community, but not before he has shown his newly learned skills to the community.

This already reveals the significance one attaches to obtaining this new sexual and professional status. Within the community one has an identity (a child or a grown man or woman). In the initiation camp, which usually is situated outside the village, one has no identity. During the transition period all the novices are equal i.e. without status. This is often apparent from the uniform clothes or precisely from the absence of clothes, by shared nakedness. During this period of intensive education a brotherly equality prevails among the novices, which Turner (1969:82) referred to with *communitas*. So this communitas arises as soon as the social structure, which defines everyday life in the community, is lacking (Turner 1969:113). Thus where there is a differentiation in daily life according to status, there prevails, during the transition phase of the initiation, a certain homogeneity.

The training and education during the initiation rituals is moral, mystic and technical. Part of the pedagogics is that nobody has to feel 'alone', in sharing his knowledge, faith and abilities with his peers. You share them equally with your companions of your age with whom -in seclusion- you undergo the training during the initiation in the ritual's transition-phase (Turner 1969:91). Generally you have no say during the training, no will, no status, but only the authority of the initiation-leader confronting you. Sometimes some of the elder are invited as guest teachers to deal with a specific part of the training.

Besides each novice has a grown-up familiar to him or her who renders assistance as a personal attendant during the transition-phase. Instruction is often verbal or non-verbal. Since initiation-rituals show strong structural similarities as far as the phases of separation, transition, and reintegration are concerned, it is

not wise to consider all kinds of initiation-rituals with the various Zambian cultures within this frame. What is of interests here is the significance of dance and music accompanying these rituals.

With the matrilineal and virilocal Ndembu in Central Africa, who combine a simple hoe-agriculture with hunting, dancing forms an important part of the initiation-rituals of girls. The Ndembu live in small, mobile villages. The wife, to whom the children owe their primary lineage (descent) and residential affiliation, lives with her husband in the village and not with her matrilineal relatives. Her children, in any case her elder sons, are ideally raised by her brother in her home village. The children which her own husband has about the place are not hers, but are his sister's who lives elsewhere. Because the mother wants to see her own children now and then, she leaves her husband quite a few times to go to her home village. When women divorce their husbands they also return to their home village.

The initiation-ritual (*Nkang'a*) of the girls with the Ndembu is, in contrast to that of the boys (*Mukanda*) with the Lovale, an individual initiation. It does not take place with the first period but the first signs of breast-development. The ritual rather easily passes into a first marriage, i.e the reintegration within the community might finish with a marriage. Although there is no super-natural sanction for a marriage with an uninitiated girl, parents think that neglecting the long standing tradition of initiation displeases the 'shadows' (the ancestors). If the girl appears to remain childless, then this is imputed to the absence of initiation.

Nkang'a knows three phases: (1) *Kwing'ja* (causing to enter); (2) *kunkunka*, or separation in the grass hut (*nkunka*); and (3) *kwidisha*, or bringing out (Turner 1981:201). The girl is allocated a personal attendant or instructor, an acquaintance or a relative. She teaches the girl the dances, the sexual techniques and

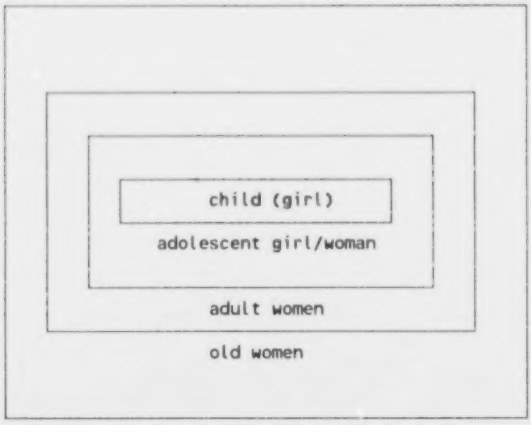

Figure 4: *Female age-groups involved in girls initiation*

domestic activities. Besides, the girl is assisted by her handmaid, a little help younger than she is. They keep each other company in the grass but. Here, too, we see that the grandmother, yet not the mother, can approach the girl easiest in her seclusion and can provide her with permanent company.

During the period the girl is secluded from the community the villagers do not actually devote any attention anymore to the initiation. The girl is now being instructed, especially in dances. Yet at her return, she shows the community what she has learned, so also her dances (Turner 1981:257-259).

It is striking that this ritual, too, is a feast for the entire community. For the community the highlights are the entry in and the departure from the grass hut. In these phases of separation and reintegration the entire village dances and sings. Thus with *Nkang'a* the separation of the girl originally is a women's affair. They take the adolescent with them and prepare her for seclusion from community life.

Makishi-masquerades in Central Africa

As far as the pedagogics of the initiation rituals are concerned, there is some documentation on *Mukanda*, the initiation of boys with the matrilineal Luvale (Central Africa), Lunda-Ndembu, Luchazi, Mbunda and Chokwe, in the north-western province of Zambia and in Angola and Zaire. In these cultures it is striking that boys are initiated communally and girls individually. It is a wellknown cultural phenomenon in the rituals with the societies in the upper current of the Zambesi-river in which costumes, masks (*makishi*) and dances are often made use of. Kubik (1971) described Mukanda as he observed it with the Mbwela and Nkangela in Angola, and which is closely related to the Mukanda among tribes in Zambia.

On the one hand, Mukanda means the temporary hut of initiation outside the village where the boys stay, sometimes even for a few months, and, on the other hand, the sum total of organised activities which have to do with the preparation, the circumcision, the recovery and the education during their seclusion. Fertile women and uncircumcised boys are not allowed in the vicinity of this spot. The hut has one opening facing the forest and one facing the village. Each novice has his own personal attendant (*chilombola*) chosen by his mother's brother. He is familiar to the boy and helps him over his first shock. Instruction starts as soon as the wound is healed. During the day the boys learn to hunt, to collect wood for the fire or other man's work on the spot in the dry forest. They learn the importance of collaboration and voluntary labour.

The final feast in the community lasts for 3 or 4 days. Here, too, the *Makishi* form an important part. During their separation the basis has been laid for the instruction in these mask-dances and the accompanying pantomime. Later, step by step, they get acquainted with the skills, the performance and the dance. Each dancer does not have to know all the dances. There is a certain form of specialisation according to the character the mask represents. The actual learning

of the dance-steps takes relatively little time because the boys, from their youth-up, are familiar with the isolated basic movements.

After the initiation further instruction in the makishi-dances follows. During the mukanda the emphasis is not on the learning of the dances but rather on the boy's initiation into the secrets behind the masks. After their initiation the novices know who wears which mask in their village and what each masked dancer represents. Without knowing what they create they are put in the manufacturing of masks and costumes. They prepare strips of treebark, or weave the complicated raffia uniform which encloses the dancer's body as a pair of tights. They help the dancers to change costumes and to make up their faces.

The *likishi*, one masked character, is seen as an ancestor ('shadow') returned from the grave. The masked figures bring, on the one hand, entertainment but, on the other, they also indicate the earnestness of the rituals. The masks are only used at the beginning and at the end and mark ritual and daily life. The dancers are admired for their skills. Theoretically the women are supposed not to know that there is a man behind the mask. If the family can afford it, the novice has, from the moment he leaves the camp in procession, his own representative mask.

Vrijdagh (1977:13) distinguished only a few characters with the Mbunda. There was a chief, and an initiate, a young woman, a mother and an old woman. The dancer dancing with the women's mask (transvestism) really dances as a woman, i.e. with the shoulders. The others are all men's masks which represent various physical and social types. There is a wanderer, a narrator, hunters, a clown, etc. There are not any real heroes. They are all reflections of ancestors who, in their turn, are reflections again of social types. Though during the initiation some mask(s)(-dances) are, as far as function goes, more important than others. Thus there are clown characters who while making jokes check simultaneously whether there are any women around when the initiate takes his first bath after the circumcision. The clowns are intermediaries and messengers between the camp and the village. From there they 'steal' the food for the novices and entertain the women who stayed behind.

The initiation ritual is necessary to turn a youth into a self-reliant man. Mbunda society makes a sharp distinction between *vilima* (uncircumcised) and *vilombola* (circumcised). Only circumcised people can dance the makishi. The makishi dance takes away the boy from the world of women an initiates him into the world of men. Thus uncircumcised men are inferior to circumcised men.

Music and dance education in the mukanda is not an aim in itself, it is no music lesson, but serves as an integrated means of expression within the entire instruction process. Education in the mukanda is mainly based on imitation, reinforced by dance and other action patterns. Slow but sure the boys begin to identify with a new way of life, with different behaviour which is expected of him at his return in society. Singing and dancing are divided in those which are explicitly performed for the initiates during their separation and the general mukanda-songs. Drums are essential in the education pattern: sometimes to

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summon the boys from the forest, but at other times also for the learning of the songs.

Instruction within the mukanda is formally organized. There is a clear distinction in role between the teacher and pupils. Lessons in singing and dancing increase as the end of the period of seclusion of the main community approaches, because he is expected to make his novices show this at their return in the village. So, among others, they learn the *lutanga*, a kind of recital or dialogue between drums and choir. The text of the recital relates the news of the camp to the home village nearby. But since the text has remained the same from one generation to the other, it tells the village more about the development of the boys' learning process.

Many songs deal with leaving mother and home sweat home or with the fear of the makishi (the masked dancers). Or another satirical song is about what happens to uncircumcised boys, who are ridiculed in the village and will never find a wife. Kubik (1971) states that these songs and the required accompanying actions are much more efficient in the conveyance than a verbal explanation about the expected future behaviour. In the procession back to the village the special mukanda-instruction songs are sung for the last time.

Masks are not individually interchangeable. The dancer is wearing the same mask during his entire life. During the initiation the boy chooses a new name of one of his ancestors. He makes a mask going with it. The uninitiated is told that the Makishi are the ancestors, risen from the grave. Thus in this way the ancestors are always present and indicate what life was like in the old days and what it should be like now. During the initiation the boys are also told the secret of the Makishi. Only then they are initiated in the institutions of society. The division between affairs of men and those of women is further reinforced. A form of social cohesion also evolves among the boys of the same generation (the peer group).

Even if the circumcision is a personal rite de passage, it yet becomes a communal event. Apparently the importance of kinship seems to be lacking, but by way of the masked characters the boy most certainly feels an affinity with his own ancestors. The puberty rites of men as well as of women provide the novices with an idea of an ordered universe. So the rituals have to be executed correctly.

Although there is a great deal of competition in other social sectors of the Luvale society, it is entirely absent with the novices during the initiation. The Luvale puberty rituals emphasize the rupture between mother and son, and the transition of the child to the world of men. The separation from the community is then metaphorically seen as a mortification, and the reintegration in the community as a 'rebirth'. Between these two there is a long 'timeless' period of training.

The period of separation is short. It is a festive occasion for the entire community in which primarily the adults eat and drink well, dance, sing, make music, etc. The boys, assisted by their personal attendants, wait for the arrival

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of the first makishi (the masked dancers), usually the fool (*chileya*) who pacifies the minds somewhat before the boys collectively enter the initiation-hut. The Makishi counts a number of women characters such as the *mwana-pwevo* (young woman). They are danced, however, by men.

Then, the *katotola*-mask arrives, the sorcerer associated with death. The procession to the camp begins, each boy with his adult attendant. The mothers stay behind, and this phase of separation ends with the circumcision of the boys.

Now, the transition-phase in the camp follows. First the boys have to recover. To help them over the shock of the circumcision, they are busily engaged. They receive training in singing and dancing. They learn that certain food is prohibited. The food they eat is prepared in the village by an old infertile woman who has had her menopause. So each symbolic connection with sexuality and propagation is avoided. No adult woman will come near the camp. The camp's leader decides when enough has been eaten. Everything responds to strict rules of obeyance. The sanctions permanently impressed upon the boys for an offence are impotence, leprosy or madness. The upbringing is Spartan and martial and is reinforced at sunrise and at sunset. During the healing of the wound, the boys are confronted with authority and mystical symbolism. They are mangled, muzzled and equalized. The second part of the transition phase after the recovery consists of training in hunting, collecting, singing and dancing.

Then rituals of reintegration follow. Just before the novices in procession turn to their village permanently, the initiation camp is burnt down. It does not exist anymore. A new life in the village begins. Again the Makishi dancers play an important role. They escort the novices back to the village, where the women are waiting for them. Again the community is having a feast but now the novices show their dancing-skills. The ritual's last part consists of the looking for a woman to make love to. If the novice does not find a woman, he masturbates in the bush.

The symbolism of the ritual operates in a fixed frame of events, and as such is not open to change. Of course, the arrival of the mission and the setting-up of schools have brought a number of changes, by the heavy pressure from outside. The money-economy, too, has its influence. Gifted mask dancers now partly earn their income with their performances. Now that new types of social status (prestige) systems are introduced it remains to be seen whether society still needs a transition of status by means of rites de passage. This, of course, applies more to the city than to the country.

There is a clear distinction between the sacred and profane execution of the boy's circumcision and of the entertainment. The sacred one takes place during the initiation. The profane one at festive occasions at which money is asked for. The spectacular aspect of the profane version is the interplay between the clown Chikla and the transvestite Mwana Pwevo, or young woman. The profane version primarily takes place between masked acrobats upon a rope stretched between two

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poles high above the ground. They sing comic songs, make jokes and entertain the audience. The women wing a serenade for them (Brelsford 1974:37).

The Nyau-masquerades with the Chewa

Nyau is the name for a mask-dance and for the society of men which performs this dance among the Chewa-speaking cultures of Malawi, Mozambique and the eastern province of Zambia. Chewa is a Bantu language. The societies speaking this language are organized matrilineally and matrilocally. This means that the uncle on the mother's side has a decisive voice in village matters and hereditary right. Next to the Chewa speaking cultures this area also knows the Tumbuka and Ngoni cultures. The Chewa have a joking relationship with the Ngoni. The Ngoni state that Chewa men actually are nothing but hired bulls (Mtonga 1980:5), because they live in the village of their wives.

A Chewa village, in fact, consists of women who, according to their lineage, are all relatives (sisters and cousins) of each other, and of men who come from numerous surrounding villages. Because of this construction there appear to be quite a few accusations of witchcraft in the communities, which can be carried back to relational problems. In the district's capital Chipata this marriage and settlement pattern has started to change somewhat. Today one pays a dowry (*lobola*; Ngoni) in the form of cattle, and one settles virilocally. This entitles the husband to keep the children after the termination of the marriage. This arrangement, the powerful economic role of the father and the school make the children more and more dependent on their father.

Traditionally, *nyau* dances were performed in conclusion of a series of funeral ceremonies which took place a few months or sometimes even almost a year after the death. Nyau-dances take place during the dry season (April/October) in which the men hunt and the women tend their gardens. In contrast to the rainy season (November/March), in which agriculture demands all attention, in the dry season there is time for performances.

In the dry season there is a concentration of Nyau dances in the villages during the *Gule Wamkulu*, the annual dance festival-cum-masquerade. The *vinyau*, the members of this society of mask dancers, also perform during the initiation rituals of this period. Nowadays nyau dances are also performed at national feast-days, as a cultural presentation. In Chipata the dances are presented at annual agricultural fairs. The play area is enclosed and an entrance-fee is asked, or the hat is sent round. While in a little town as Chipata one mainly sees the dances as entertainment, *nyau*, though performed at the opening of a local pub, is still part of a sacral worldview in the country.

A complete nyau lasts a few days and runs parallel in time with all the stages in the brewing of beer. The regulations concerning the use of a mask are strict. The same applies to the movements, the pantomime and the songs which belong to the dance of a mask. The dancers are men. Except for one, the *donna* or

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Maria, all human masks represent male characters. Others masks which represent animals, or a combination of human and animal qualities. Besides, large animals such as elephants, ostriches, zebras and such like, are made of raffia, maize leaves or other materials. Nowadays masks also represent cars or boats. The performances are often comical and take place in the period between the harvest and the ploughing for the next season. This is also the period in which the initiation and other rituals take place.

There are quite a few Nyau groups. Schoffeleers estimated the number at about 500 in Malawi, each with about 20 active dancers and some novices. The novices undergo an initiation in the secret society. According to Schoffeleers (1976:59-60) you can study the Nyau in various ways. Firstly, according to the history of Nyau among the Chewa tribes. Still very little is known about this. Secondly you can study the organisation of the Nyau secret societies and thirdly the relation between Nyau and the economic system. The dances bridge two important events in agriculture. Next to the yearly recurrent seasonal changes most myths imply that Nyau has arisen during 'the great famine', when the members danced for food. Fourthly the political role of Nyau can be studied. The myths imply that it has been invented by the common people, as the chiefs were jealous of the power and the network of the secret societies and tried to tie the groups to themselves. Reports of before World War II state that there were two types of societies, those under the care of a chief and those which lead an independent existence. Fifthly you might consider the importance of Nyau groups in the social system, and especially in the socialization process. Since with the Chewa, the men live in the village of their wives and thus, relatively, are strangers, these societies have been called to life as a sort of pressure group (a sort of exclusive club for men) which, as it were, used Nyau performances as rites of rebellion. Also a lot has been said about Nyau as a religious society. This forms the sixth field of study. Though it is performed at funerals, there is no prayer, priest or offer involved. Finally we can study Nyau as an expression of art, both as a visual art (the mask) and as a performing art (the dance, pantomime and music).

Schoffeleers (1976:61) thinks that the nyau secret societies and their dances are the richest store of Chewa culture, tradition and history. When discussing the origin of Nyau, themes as famine and the chief's political jealousy reoccur time and again. There are, therefore, different oral versions: those of the Nyau societies themselves and those of the chiefs. In both versions the different role of the sexes stands out. Some myths even imply that Nyau was originally a women's affair which had been taken over by men. Or other myths imply that women were so fascinated by the Nyau that they begged to be admitted to the association. These myths, however, tell us more about the social tensions within Chewa society than about the history of the Nyau.

According to Schoffeleers the earliest villages consisted of small mobile communities which organized raids for food. But with the growing significance

of the production of food the population increased and became more sedentary. This influenced the religious structure. A functional division of labour evolved. Religion was of local and regional importance and institutions came into being on both levels. The separation of the organizations of shrines and that of the Nyau was one of its results.

Above Schoffeleers stated that the supporters of Nyau regarded it as a religious institution, without offers, priests or other such things. The type of ritual, with which Nyau can be identified is, according to Schoffeleers (1976:63), typical for cultures of hunters and gatherers. The most important characteristic is that contact with the gods is not so much looked for through meditation, offers or prayers but through enacting events of the past in which gods were involved. What sort of event of the past does Nyau depict? It expresses a central theme in the Chewa and Bantu belief system, about the fundamental relation and division between man and animal, between man and his natural environment. This cosmological theme is explicit in various myths about the origin of the Chewa, which provide the basic script for the Nyau dramatization.

When we draw the history of Nyau somewhat closer to ourselves and read the written historical sources, the political schism between the local secret Nyau societies and the regional chief's power immediately catches our eye. Originally, government officials thought that Nyau was completely in the hands of and supported by the traditional chiefs. Gradually they found out that this supervision sometimes was very strict and at other times almost rebellious. For Nyau societies were fairly autonomous, and actually it was much more a question of a continuous conflict of power and authority between the Nyau societies and the chief.

This autonomy, first of all, had to do with the societies' legal system. When somebody from their midst had committed a crime, he was tried by the local Nyau society and not by the regional chief's court. So the secret society was judicially independent. Secondly there was the tension between the ideology of the chief's regionally centralised authority and that of the locally autonomous Nyau societies. Thus when the myths refer to the chief's envy, as far as the authority of the societies was concerned, it was usually about the protection of his favourite Nyau dance troupe which he needed during funerals and other ceremonies. But simultaneously it was about his limited power over the groups.

Ritual and theatrical process of Gule Wamkulu

A fortnight before Gule Wamkulu, stories about 'shadows' that will presently rise from their graves in the shape of animals already start to gather rounds. The Nyau-dances are performed during the girl initiation rites, as a conclusion of a period of mourning and in commemoration of the ancestors. Remnants of the possessions and the hair of the deceased for whom one has been mourning are burned at the end of the ritual.

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There are clearly two masters of ceremonies. In the village left by the men, it is the woman that wields the sceptre over the process of beer-brewing. She is the social master of ceremonies. In the temporary Nyau-camp in the woods outside the village and close to a cemetery, the male head of the Nyau-society wields the sceptre over the ritual process.

Before sunrise, the men of the Nyau-society leave the village for the place where they will set up their camp. They have their masks, drums and fire with them. This Nyau-camp (*msito*) is a 'sacred' place, women and the uninitiated boys are not allowed. The fire, containing 'sacred' herbs is placed within the centre of the settlement. Around the camp, mystic medicines are laid to keep off intruders.

Directly after the arrival at the spot, the drums are being played in order to let the home-village know which place one is to stay away from for the time being. Once in this temporary camp outside the village, the essence of the procession follows, i.e. the ritual to rouse the dead. Each *vinyau* has dedicated a mask to an ancestor's spirit. This spirit is called from the grave to take possession of the dancer and his mask. The dancers embrocate themselves with clay and dress up. They have become unrecognizable. Thus, begins the trip back to the village to collect Nyau novices who shall be initiated as new *vinyau*.

Since an initiation like this can be rather frightening for such young boys, each novice is accompanied by a personal vinyau as protector (*phungu*). The young boys leave the village by the hand of the unmasked phungu, on their way to the encampment. The closer he gets to the camp, the closer he, in fact, gets to the world of his ancestors. Suddenly masked vinyau jump out of the bushes and give the novice and his phungu a sound trashing. Under the protection of the phungu both flee to the camp.

The first thing the boy is confronted with, inside the camp, is a big palisade, a gigantic mask of an anthropomorphic being. The boys are given a medicine (herb) to chew on, that they spit out through the mouth of the mask afterwards. Then follows the sexual instruction. A woman is drawn on a tree. On the place of the vagina a hole is scooped out and pasted with a thick sort of porridge. The boy has sexual intercourse with the tree. His changed status is confirmed with a sacrificial meal.

Next is the instruction in the rules of the nyau-society and in various skills. In contrast to the juniors and seniors, the novice is seen as a child that has to learn all sorts of things. It is brought home to him that it can cost him his life if he ever betrays the nyau secrets. One of the rules of the vinyau concerns the loss of props. There are heavy sanctions for this because the careless leaving about of masks or props can disturb the illusion of the existence of the vinyau in the village.

There are several tutors for the novices, as there are, for instance, for the teaching of dances, the playing of the drums, and the singing. Other guest tutors teach wood-cutting and show you how to make masks. Everything is set-up very

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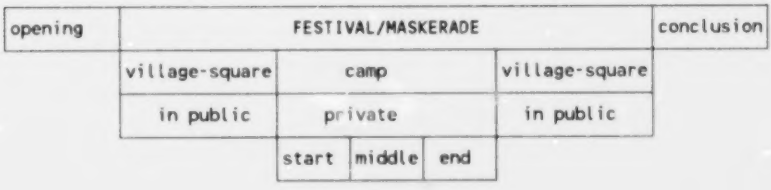
disciplined and hierarchically. The boys are given a lot of physical training (stilt-walking, pole-dancing, acrobatics) and are trained to always keep 'the truth' about their identity to themselves, even if they are beated.

Then the journey home begins, where they are put on a special diet for another five days. During these five days, the parents of the boy are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse. Afterwards the boy, for the duration of the season, still regularly, receives training and schooling in the Nyau-encampment, until the official and important re-entry and celebration in the village come about.

The eventual Nyau celebrations, in which the newly initiated Nyau members take part and have their first performance, according to Mtonga (1980), consists of five stages, which are, in fact, a variation on the stages Victor Turner and Arnold van Gennep distinguished. Gule Wamkulu has an opening, followed by a nocturnal performance in the village, a cleansing-ritual in the encampment, a performance in the villages during the day, and a concluding phase.



1. A few masked persons go to the village and beg for beer. These are the 'beggars'. Before they leave the camp the leader inspects the masks for the last time. Then a messenger is sent to the well to warn the women that the zoomorphic animals will come to drink there. The procession of animal masks starts. Those of the big wild animals are carried on the body. Those of the small animals are held in the hand. At the well the actors simulate the drinking and urinating of the animals causing general mutual laughter. One remains on the alert for 'hunters' (i.e. intruders). Via de camp they march to the village. The first animal to appear to the public is a 'sacred' (mythic) animal. Everything is accompanied by drums. All uninitiated boys stay inside. The women sing a song of welcome. A tour through the village with dancers in animal masks follows. The huts of the important people in the village, such as the village elder, the chief, the master of ceremonies, the leader of the girl initiation, are visited first. Then the procession goes to the dance arena in the centre of the village. The sacred animal returns to the camp. The nocturnal spectacle has been announced, as it were. In expectation of this the people in the village start a round of beer-sampling.
2. The nocturnal performance is announced by 'screamers' (vinyau, dressed as night-animals) such as jackals, hyenas, wild cats, an lions. Then the masked messengers ran into the village to chase everyone to the dance floor. The first

Nyau dancers to appear are those of the 'ancestor' spirits like the hunch-back, the hunter with his dog, the policeman or sergeant with his whip, the sympathetic 'big chief', the 'bare buttocks' (young dancers with a painted behind, who come onto the stage back to the front), the mother (*lute*), the 'long-legs' (stilts, pole-dancers, acrobats) and the fire-carriers. Only then, around sunrise, the animal masks follow: python, turtle, horse, zebra, ostrich, elephant. At dawn the farewell follows.

3. The Nyau camp is cleaned (swept). The remnants of the men's stay like waste as well as the animal masks are burned and the rest is buried as with a funeral. The dancers return to the village unmasked. There, the next to kin of the deceased have also cleaned up. The litter of the day before and the cut off hair of the mourners is burned and buried by Nyau members. Then everybody takes a bath. Beer follows.
4. A few days later the Nyau members leave again for their camp. They dress and mask with their individual Nyau masks which, each, represent an ancestor they have chosen themselves. These are the same masks worn at the actual funerals of the corpses. In the daytime, the performance in the village square follows to honour the ancestors.

The concluding ceremony follows. The 'sacred' animal from (1) returns to conclude. But, in general, one is too merry and drunk or fuddled to turn this into a spectacular event.

Final remarks

The masks consist of very abstract characters who listen to names such as 'he that has returned from the grave', 'the shadows of the spirit' or 'he who eats heat-resistant grave-plants'. There are also characters who are more concrete, such as the deaf one, the chronic thief, the brave one, the persons without respect, the lazy one, the drunkard, the immoral one (the veneral diseased), the tall one (on stilts). There are few animal-masks in this. The animal-masks present have anthropomorphic features and are, actually, metaphors of human types, such as the pig, the baboon, etc.

Nyau masks show a great variety in style, from very abstract to very naturalistic masks. Under colonial rule, masks were designed which represented whites such as the British District Commissioner or King George. These were used to comment on British manners, causing much merriment with the audience and deep annoyance with the white civil servant. Thus masks and their performances formed a continuous comment on new things which presented themselves to the rural community. Masks and mask-performances, therefore, seem to be a way to bear up against situations which affect the Chewa but with which they do not know what to do straightaway.

Colonial times as well as the introduction of the Islam and Christianity caused many changes. There are a number of masks with clear white influences, such as the sergeant, Peter, Virgin Mary or 'donna' and Joseph, John the Baptist (draped in skins, like John in the desert) and the white man (complete with pipe and *topi*, sometimes in a car made of bamboo). Joseph and Peter usually fight for Mary's favours. Mary's dance is derived from those of the girls at their initiation. Because of the rotation of the pelvis, these dances are strongly sexually toned. Mary is obviously a prim white lady impersonated by a young man "trained to behave, dance and wriggle like a woman" (McCaffrey 1981:41). In the end, 'she' chooses for Joseph who dances rather like a clown, as an anti-Christian parody, in his chequered costume.

In the regions where the Islam forced its way, the complete disappearance of Nyau is striking. In areas where Christian missionaries stayed, Nyau obtained a new course of life. Membership of the secret society was no longer necessary to perform the mask dances. It became a society of volunteers. It no longer had a function at the initiation of girls. The initiation of new members was not as rough anymore as it had been in earlier days. Nyau dances are nowadays performed in stadiums, in army huts, and in miners camps. Masks are made for the tourist industry, and such like.

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Historical outline of the development of Zambian national theatre

At the time of colonial rule Zambian theatre was organized by and on behalf of the colonists, and financially supported by the government. As a consequence, drama could be traced along the railway tracks from the Copperbelt in the North to the terminal of Livingstone in the South. It served to entertain the mining engineers and government officials and to maintain some kind of a cultural bond with the mother country, Britain. Owing to the flourishing copper industry during the fifties it was possible to run series of small theatres for the exclusive use of overseas Britons, where western productions were staged for a minor white community. This cultural enclave took no notice whatever of the local culture. The white man's control of these playhouses was so institutionalized and so much taken for granted that, even after twenty years of independence, their influence was still felt.

In the late fifties Chris Boa, a black primary-school teacher in Bisa-land, wrote plays with obvious political information for his pupils. In those days nationalism was not popular at all with the British government. The productions clearly revealed Boa's mind for improvisation, so that music, dance and elocution could be integrated into them. Thus the children were confronted with a new idea of a theatre performance. The audience was encouraged to participate vocally as well as physically (Chifunyise 1977:29-39). Regrettably, shortly before he was arrested, Boa simply had to burn all his manuscripts and notes. However, theatre activities of this kind were not restricted to Bisa-land. Elsewhere, too, people applied this form to cultural resistance (Etherton 1973:46).

Indigenous theatre, in rural as well as urban areas, was entirely overruled by this forementioned dominant western-oriented theatre-branch. Indigenous village dance-drama was either ignored or turned into a tourist's attraction. White people not only developed their enclave-culture, indeed they influenced, by way of the educational system, the theatrical forms developed by the Zambian elite.

Zambians started to organize their own theatre as a reaction to this policy. One of the first groups, the Zambia Arts Trust (ZAT), began to produce plays on Zambian and African themes - morality and politics - which appealed to a minor upper rank of theatreminded Zambians only. ZAT's influence did not reach far. Its theatre was located in the centre of a copperbelt town, far away from the homes of the miners. Apart from that, the notion of drama in an enclosed space (a playhouse) was entirely alien to the common Zambian. The people were accustomed to open air performances in which traditional dance and music ensured an enthusiastic and cooperative audience.

Zambian history and development put on stage

Zambia reached its state of independence in 1964. In honour of this occasion the spectacle *The ages of man* was performed. Although the script had a clear western build-up, African history was told with the help of all kinds of tribal songs and dances. As elsewhere in Africa the history of the native country remained a source of inspiration to young playwrights.

The Lands of Kazembe, written by Masiye, is a historical play about the colonial experience. It deals with the life of Francisco de Lacerda, the Portuguese explorer, who by order of the Queen of Portugal, was in search of a trade route from Mozambique to Angola at the end of the 18th century. He died shortly before reaching his goal. Masiye has based his play on a conscientious study of the annals of De Lacerda in order to come to a reconstruction of both the Portuguese intrigues and the games of the Luunda monarch, Mwaata Kazembe, who wanted to prevent the passage to Angola.

The play clearly reveals the relation between black and white. Originally it was broadcasted as a radio play in, then, Northern Rhodesia in 1957. Later Masiye adapted it to a play which was put on stage according to Etherton's ideas by the University of Zambia Dramatic Society (UNZADRAMS) in the Chikwakwa open air theatre in 1971.

Because the plot leads us through various areas of Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia the drums frequently sound when visits are paid to tribute-paying monarchs in enemy territories. There is quite some inducement to dance, singing and music. Its function, however, remains limited to what must have been the sound effects in the original radio play. Nevertheless it makes the play very lively and appealing.

Kabwe Kasoma's *Lobengula* (1977) also gives an account of a climatic point from the African colonial history: the occupation and colonialisation of Zimbabwe by the British South African Company (1883-1893). The play is situated in Bulawayo, the capital of the monarch Lobengula of the Matabele, as well as in the vassal states as those of the Shona. Surrounded by his elders (*induna*) and his warriors (*impi*) the monarch is surprised time and again about the hypocritical and treacherous conduct of the advancing whites with the intriguer Cecile Rhodes permanently in the background.

Lobengula is a wise monarch who honours courteous usages. At the same time, supported by his wife Queen Xaba, he accepts his fate in that he on behalf of his ancestors has to defend his realm against the whites. There continually are three parties consulting the King. The elderly, who take in a moderate position supporting the King's tact to prevent an open war with the whites by fighting them with their own tactics. The warriors, who would not like anything better but to hit out with their shields and spears at the 'wanderers' armed with rifles. Out of loyalty to the realm they even think of muting against the King. And finally

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there are the unreliable whites who make Lobengula sign all kinds of treaties in good faith, all of which eventually appear to be false.

Noteworthy is the sharpness with which Kasoma knows to represent the misunderstandings which result from a lack of acquaintance with the mutual cultural conventions and etiquette. To Lobengula it remains a mystery how a woman can be the chief of the English and why he cannot marry her. He is continually looking for cultural similarities in order to understand the behaviour of the English. He calls both the English soldiers and his own warriors *impi*. It is not clear to him why foreigners are so keen in digging for minerals and ore. The Oxford delegation, on the other hand, does not understand why they are not allowed to look at the King when they talk with him and neither why they have to sit on a bare floor with stretched legs.

However, the political role of Zambia's monarchs declined after independence. The republic was appointed a president whose history went back as far as colonial times. So next to historical plays about the time before and during colonial rule, more and more was written about the contemporary problems with which a young state was confronted. The history which formed the basis of the Black Mamba plays was president Kaunda's book *Zambia Shall Be Free*. Although Kaunda is the protagonist in Kabwe Kasoma's plays, the plays do not just deal with Kaunda himself but rather with the circumstances which clarify his opinions about "One Zambia, One Nation'.

Kasoma's style was quite direct. Therefore, we do not see Kaunda change into a hero. Each scene served as a statement in an overall argument, and thus each was a separate step ahead in Kasoma's story who, as an activist, gives his personal view on the past.

The three Black Mamba plays form a trilogy. However, they do not have a uniform style. In England only part two has been published and performed. Part one deals with the youth of Kaunda and Kapwepwe, who meet each other in a first fight, pass their teacher's training course, go to Lusaka during World War II and who find jobs as army instructors. The next day they are fired because, supposedly, they are not required anymore. Kapwepwe returns to the country and Kaunda leaves for Southern Rhodesia to find a missionary job (his father was a minister). This straightforward plot reveals the shallow chances an educated African had to find work or a future. Colonials called these politicized Africans 'black mambas', after the lethally poisonous snakes.

Part two shows us how Kaunda organizes strikes and, together with Harry Nkumbula, leader of the African National Congress, is openly protesting. It displays their activities in the country and the copper mines. Like in the first part, the plot is tenuous, more like a scenario, a series of images. The arrest of Nkumbula, Kaunda, Kapwepwe and the other Black Mambas ends this part.

Part three deals with the last stadia of the struggle for independence and with the origin of the Zambian state. This play, too, is episodic, but also has a more complex structure. As the first two parts dealt with the fight between black and

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white, this part deals with the fight between the Africans themselves and against the whites. The division among the whites slowly becomes evident. The origin of the UNIP is shown. The play ends with the celebration of independence and the arrival of the President (Etherton 1982:180-181).

Chikwakwa-theatre: way out in the country

During the first few years after Zambia's independence, drama remained an elitist affair, which was mainly due to the unbridgeable gap between the local forms of theatre as performed in the villages, and the kind of drama that was given shape by the university. This problem came to be recognized by the end of the sixties, and as a result the University of Zambia (Lusaka) tried to organize workshops in the field in which students, local front-line-workers and representatives of the local population could work out performances collectively.

One of the first initiatives was the Kasama Theatre Workshop (1969), which was organized by the Department of extra-mural studies. The participants and the organizers consisted of staff members and students of the university and local people and secondary school pupils from Kasama. The general objective was 'to educate and to entertain'. The specific objectives were: (1) the organization of a theatre workshop in the region; (2) to provide the participants with practical experience in theatre work in the rural areas; (3) to contribute to the development of the performing arts in Zambia. Next to performances general acting workshops were given during the evening.

The plays *The Talking Drum* (by Selina Namwila) and *Infa* (by George Simmers) were deliberately selected for the Kasama Workshop, because they linked up well with the traditional rural life, as far as the stories, the dances and the songs were concerned. The plays were partly performed in English and partly in Chi Bemba. For the first time plays were presented in the local language.

This new theatrical movement was prompted by the Drama Department of the University of Zambia. For this reason the university opened a theatre of its own called Chikwakwa, with a set company, consisting of staffmembers and students. Next to adaptations of classic non-African plays, such as Brecht's *Good Women of Setzuan*, there were also performances of plays by young Zambian and other African playwrights. In its home base the theatre company developed a theatre style in which modern dialogues were integrated with traditional performing arts such as dancing, singing and music, traditional elocution, masquerades, etc.

Because the Chikwakwa Theatre was built at the fringe of Lusaka, it could merely cater for the population living in its surroundings. Plays were chosen which could propagate a political or moral message, after adaptation to the contemporary situation. In October 1970 the theatre presented *Che Guevara*, written by Mario Fratti and adapted to the South-African guerilla war.

In order to lend a more permanent character to such incidental initiatives as the Kasama workshop, the Chikwakwa stuck to drama for the rural population as

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its main objective. Therefore, in the course of time Chikwakwa developed a touring theatre. The main objective was to make audience and actors experiment with a combination of traditional and modern elements of drama. Actors who did not have a full command of the local tongue, played adapted parts in English or, with some additional mime, in pidgin-English.

The idea behind the touring theatre corresponded to Zambia's humanism as it had been proclaimed within the UNIP by Kenneth Kaunda. The idea that a country without a culture is as a body without a soul, supplemented with Kasoma's pronouncement "theatre for the people", were the direct motives for the touring. Therefore, students worked together with the rural population of the area in seminars and workshops. The repertory of the plays corresponded with this ideology.

In 1974-1975 Chikwakwa ran into difficult times because of a change of policy on the part of the government. Which meant a preference for more endogenous and independent Zambian culture. The import of foreign films, television programmes and radio programmes was ceased. Zambian dances, music and literary drama were stimulated from a pan-African point of view. In 1975-1976 students strongly intervened university life which resulted in a blockade of university funds and activities. Because of the precarious political situation in Southern Africa in 1978 the government decided to censure the theatre. In 1979 the funds of Chikwakwa ran dry. In the meantime other groups with an identical ideology had risen in Lusaka, such as Tikwiza, Bazamai, and Theatre Circle.

Bazamai and Tikwiza: newcomers in the city

The Bazamai group (1971) directed by Masautso Phiri was one of the enthusiastic initiatives resulting from the regional theatre workshop in Chipata (1969). Phiri was a university man. He wrote, adapted and produced plays, and supported by the Department for Cultural Services he travelled with his group of young actors and actresses to the deprived urban areas of Lusaka and to the southern and eastern provinces of the country.

In 1971 the group performed with Stephan Moyo's play *The Last Prerogative* about Ngosa, an African president who leads his people through a bitter struggle against the colonists to freedom and democracy. Phiri wrote and directed *The Nightfall*, a historical play about the fall of the Ngoni, a tribe of warriors from Zambia's eastern province. Later Phiri's interest for dance-drama grew, which is most obvious in his play *Kuta* in which he incorporated a detailed representation of all kinds of Zambian dance-dramas. According to Etherton (1972:21) Phiri was constantly in search of new ways to connect text with existing forms of expression. In 1973 the group began to fall apart and in 1974 Bazamai left the stage completely.

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The expatriate David Wallace established the Mukuba Theatre Workshop in Kitwe which was primarily for secondary school pupils. This was a stimulus to do a similar thing in Lusaka, where, in the early seventies, Wallace founded the Theatre Circle which often used Zambian folklore, dance, music and ethnic fables and parables in their performances (Chifunyisé 1977:39). Their adaptations for the stage of the Zambian stories concerning the knavish hare Kalulu (the Zambian Reynard the Fox), in particular, were popular.

Some twenty university students founded Tikwiza in 1975. Tikwiza means 'we are coming'. Without funds or subsidies the group managed to become Zambia's unofficial national theatre group for about five years. Their aim was to find a certain authenticity in the Zambian theatre. As a consequence their productions often gave direct political and ideological comments (Chifunyisé 1977:37).

In 1975, the time of the wars for independence in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the gusto for political theatre was extensive. Tikwiza took President Kaunda's Watershed speech (1975) seriously. In it the President emphasized the necessity of strengthening Zambia's cultural identity against the threat of foreign cultural imperialism. Therefore, Phiri by means of improvisations, tried to come to a 'poetic documentary theatre' in *Soweto; Flowers will Grow* (1976). On the one hand, the story shows the historical facts but, on the other hand, it also enumerates the actual pain and suffering of the people in Soweto. An extensive research into source materials and documentation preceded the play in which Phiri escaped from 'sloganism' by forceful poetry, by the historical realism of his statement and by his visual collages. As in the traditional African context songs were used to summarize and to reinforce the end of each narrative episode. The performances were 'physical' and 'actor-oriented'. Great emphasis, hence, lay on the exercise and control of the body. According to Phiri it finally was not the scenario but the visual form which had to give the play its stature.

Tikwiza's development of *Soweto; Flowers will Grow* continued in *Uhura wa Ndongo* (1976) and *Fanon's Notebook* (1979) in which the dialectical approach of political theatre depended strongly on the strength of the performers who were able to generate the flexibility and readiness to adjust their text, themes or acting to a changing social reality. Tikwiza proved unable to do so. In the early eighties they could not equal their success of 1976 during the Lagos Black Arts Festival nor that of their tour through the frontline states[1].

Development-support theatre

Thanks to Chikwakwa, among others, it had become clear that drama, if suited to the local African context, was met with enthusiasm by the population. Hence the idea grew, during the mid seventies, to employ this medium in the service of campaigns, to transfer development-support messages. A kind of instant theatre was used for the National Immunization Campaign (NIC). Health care workers

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engaged in the Mother and Child Health (MCH) programmes. Together with agricultural information officers they made use of short dramatic sketches to inform the population about the importance of inoculation. Unlike the Chikwakwa productions, these were not based on complete texts, but consisted of a few broad storylines which were elaborated during improvisation sessions.

The cast consisted of information officers, supplemented by local amateurs. The local language was used. The transitions between scenes were bridged by a narrator or by song and dance. Performances were out-of-doors, and as far as props were concerned one might speak here of 'poor' theatre. The message was conveyed in a rather melodramatic, though certainly not naive fashion. Evidently the play went home, as the audience without hesitation stepped on to the stage and took part in the running dialogue. There were follow-up discussions with the community about health care.

Such private initiatives by Zambian aid-organizations were sufficient incentive to launch theatre for development at the end of the seventies. It formed the theme of a workshop in Chalimbana, at 30km from Lusaka (1979) in which dramatists and development workers co-operated. Together they developed ideas about drama as an instrument for the development of rural and marginal urban areas in Zambia. Local members of the five neighbouring communities were invited to participate in the workshop to produce plays which were based on the themes identified by the villagers. The chief source of income in these districts is the direct sale of cash-crops to the capital. This explains why all the local problems were concerned with setting up a financial economy and with migration.

In the case of this workshop over 70 social and cultural workers, development workers and dramatists from Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Lesotho got together in August 1979 to exchange and amass their experiences. The dramatists were mainly students selected by the Zambia National Theatre Arts Association (ZANTAA). The workshop was organized by the Zambia International Theatre Institute (ZITI) and funded by Zambian and foreign donor-organizations. The objectives of the workshop were as follows:

- to demonstrate the impact of popular theatre (drama, dance, music and puppet theatre) as a means of adult education and development;
- to provide practical training or organizational, educational and dramatic skills for the benefit of employing drama in development programmes;
- to create a forum of dramatists, to enable them to collect and combine their skills and experience for the sake of adult education and development.

There was room for practical work in planning, organization and evaluation of development-support theatre programmes in rural districts. The participants were able to acquaint themselves with this type of theatre through actual practice in the course of the workshop. It implied that the participants engaged in discussions on prevailing problems with the members of neighbouring communities and that, together with the villagers, they improvised a play of approximately one hour containing of dialogue, song, dance and music. The subjects raised and selected

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for the performances and discussions were such as local leadership, problems of water supply, the lack of local transport, lack of schools, alcoholism and unemployment, the function of self-help projects, inadequate service of e.g. clinics, health-care problems (veneral diseases, diarrhoea, bilharzia) etc. The resulting play was presented to the village population and followed by discussion and action.

"On behalf of captain Don Wila Sinkala and his crew I request you to fasten your seatbelts as we are preparing for *Abortion Flight on Take Off*", the loudspeakers cry out to the audience. This was the opening of a performance by the drama club of the Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka in 1984. The play was about abortion. Alice, a student, is pregnant of a church leader, 'brother X'. Alice, however, blames her fellow-student Tom who accepts the responsibility but also advises an illegal abortion. Alice takes the risk. On the verge of the grave she is driven to hospital by her father where her womb is removed. When Tom visits her Alice tells him the facts. The curtain falls when Tom meets brother X (*Zambia Daily Mail*, July 25, 1984).

Eight years after the Chalimbana-meeting performances started to be given for specific target groups of people. The performances got a strong educative message, the content of which was aimed at the youth, women, mothers or hospital staff. Therefore, the plays were often written for a specific purpose and hardly grew from improvisation anymore. The reason being that theatre which aims at instruction has to be of a high standard if it wants to appeal to an audience. It does not need to be advanced or complicated but if the powerful affective component of theatre wants to appear to full advantage, performances are required within which the audience can identify itself with the characters, the situations and the dialogue. This may seem self-evident but yet educative and instructive theatre performances often still have a cognitive nature and do not completely use the full theatrical potential they have.

This can be illustrated with the help of the production of *Blood* (1974). It is a play about blood transfusion and was part of the repertory of Chikwakwa. In course of the years it became one of the group's most successful productions, in town as well as in the country. The protagonist Mashala is an old and very suspicious man who does not want his wife to be given a blood transfusion. All over the world blood has powerful connotations and especially in Africa. Mashala fears witchcraft. Loss of blood, however, necessitates Mashala's wife's immediate admission into hospital. Two other characters, Bokoboko and Kabichi offer their blood to save the woman's life, but Mashala persists in his refusal. He does not want the ghosts of the donors to master his wife by means of transfusion. His wife dies.

Although the message of the play is straightforward, the satire, pathos and humour add so much depth to it that it becomes appealing to a large group of people. However, *Blood* underwent a number of drastic changes during the

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seventies, in structure as well as in style of performance. In 1973 when it was put on stage for the first time the conflict between the traditional African healing methods and the modern medical modes of treatment was staged with the former as laughing stock. In the mid seventies people saw the hospital more and more as a medical institution. Therefore, the audience thought the play too simplistic which resulted in a reconstruction to make the problems concerning health care stand out more clearly. In the late seventies people acknowledged the value of traditional cures which strongly relate to the cultural system and the prevalent worldview. As a consequence of this the play became even further nuanced.

However, in transference of information concerning health care the play remained successful. The stage version directed by Matenge and performed during the Chikwakwa tour through the province of Luapula in august 1977 did not restrict the stage to the blood bank and waiting-room. The entire stage was transformed into one huge hospital. Beds, chairs, tables, bottles, needles, thermometers, doctors, nurses were continually present in order to suggest the busy and alienating atmosphere of a hospital. Mashala sat in the centre, refusing the transfusion. Contrary to the original script the director here had the young woman die on the stage in order to convey the message even more poignantly.

Kansakala, another play of the then Chikwakwa theatre, aimed promoting preventive health care. This production showed that during the seventies theatre groups did not just experiment with improvisations and texts but also with styles. *Kansakala* was a dance-drama in which the plot centred round Tiko, a doctor who cures chief Makula and his wife Sali of the smallpox. Herewith Tiko reveals that Zekolonyela, a traditional spirit, is not the only cause for the disease. To stage it in the form of a dance-drama was a very ingenious find because traditionally the audience was used to cures through dance. With the Tumbuka the traditional healer gets possessed through dance and cures his patients by imposition of the hands during the Vimbuza dancing sessions which lasted for nights at a stretch.

The growth of dance-drama and the National Dance Troupe

To preserve at least some of the traditional dances, in 1965 a team of government officials was sent out to all of Zambia's provinces to organize local dance competitions. They selected the best dancers who then formed the Zambian National Dance Troupe. This group, falling under the Department of Cultural Services, was financially supported by the government. The group's aim was to preserve and promote Zambia's traditional performing arts. It was an effort of the government to maintain the national cultural heritage. The collected and performed dances came from all parts of the country.

The National Dance Troupe's end was to represent dances in its repertory from all provinces and to show these dances as much as possible within their own contexts. In 1966 The Troupe presented itself for the first time at the First World Festival of Black Arts (Dakar, Senegal). In 1969 Edwin Manda joined the group

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as artistic director. In the field of theatre Manda had been trained in the United States. After his arrival a number of innovations were carried through which served to accentuate the theatricality of the traditional dance-dramas. More use was made of western choreographical concepts. The performances became more than series of dances.

By Manda's emphasis on individual creative skills, more than on collective improvisation, the performances became less traditional indeed. Thus, for instance, he made choreographies in which was shown a synthesis of dance patterns from the various parts of the country. Resistance arose, but with the full evening performance of *Nsombo Malimba* Manda proved that he was able to integrate a number of traditional dances into an old folk tale, which was thus given a new appearance.

The story is about the girl Mombo who is unable to laugh. Her father promises her to the man who succeeds in making her laugh. A number of candidates try but finally it is somebody from outside the community who walks off with the prize.

It was not without purpose that Manda had a Vimbuza-dancer win the entire competition. The girl is 'ill' because she cannot laugh. The only way to 'cure' her is to get her into touch with a Vimbuza dancer who, traditionally, exorcises a healing power in his dance. The Vimbuza dancer makes her laugh through his movements, and finally becomes her husband.

However, slowly dance styles became the element subject to change. Individual perfection, virtuosity and the discovery of and independent style were foremost in the dance's new developments. The choreographer detached himself from the tradition of the dance as part of the communal heritage. Because the government stimulated the preservation of the dance drama as an indigenous form of expression a fair number of festivals and competitions were organized for the individually created dances. At one of them Kachala from Kabwe was discovered. His dance, thereafter, just kept his name: the Kachala dance.

Originally Kachala belonged to the Lenje-culture. This ethnic group knew a special dance executed almost exclusively by women. The dance is called *mantyantya* and is performed at the initiation (*chisungu*) ceremony of the Lenje girls. The music and rhythm of the dance were copied by Kachala. Further he borrowed from the 'trance' dances, the *mashawe* of ethnical groups such as the Nsenga, the Soli and the Lenje. Originally this dance was used by women who assumed to be possessed by a spirit. The woman continued the dance until she was exhausted. They believed that exhaustion would exercise the spirit. From this dance which already had a popularized version in the towns, Kachala derived a few movements part of the music and the musical line of the songs.

In his choreography, or perhaps it is better to speak of his 'mimography', he revealed various aspects of modern city-life. His comic mime, for instance, was a persiflage on well-known musicians or sportsmen. The whole was larded with small comical monologues in various local languages and in broken English. The

foreign influences and the moral changes which were inherent to city-life such as miniskirts, prostitution and dancing cheek-to-cheek in public were targets of his dancing acts. In those days the government's policy, and that of the Department for Cultural Services in particular, was busy calling a halt to all this kind of foreign influences. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kachala was asked to come and work with the National Dance Troupe in 1973.

As elsewhere in Africa, quite a bit of dancing took place in the villages and cities. In urban and semi-urban surroundings a large number of small groups were dancing just for fun. These informal groups were exactly director-choreographer Stephen Chifunyisé's favourites in order to realize his dance dramas. *Who Will Dance for the Chief's Daughter*, for instance, is a dance drama performed by the Matero Boys and Girls Drama Club. It is about a village where people are used to dance before the marriage of a chief's daughter. Her friends, both male and female, open the dance festivity and are succeeded by the official court-dancer. His dance, though, is interrupted by a fool's capers. The caprioles make the girl laugh. Angrily, because he is ridiculed, the court-dancer decided to kill the girl. The fool, however, rescues her and she faints in his arms. The chief catches them like this and he decides to kill the fool. At that moment the girl opens her eyes and tells how it all happened. Now it comes to light that the fool actually is the heir apparent who had gone crazy when he, still a child, had been threatened. The chief and his court dancer are banished and the girl marries the man of her choice.

In 1975 a renewed interest for dance-drama emerged as a consequence of a workshop organized by the Chikwakwa which wanted to confront the audience with other forms of theatre than just literary drama by means of a festival. A dance drama by the Kabulanga Girls Cultural Dancing Group opened the festivity. Stephen Chifunyisé presented his *Slave Caravan*, executed by the Matero Boys and Girls Drama Club. This group of school leavers had sprung up during a workshop in Kitwe as far back as 1973. But it was not just Chifunyisé who rejuvenated the formula of the dance drama as he did in his plays *Who Will Dance* and *Mwaziona*, but also directors like Masautso Phiri and Kabwe Kasoma had been inspired by this formula as is obvious in their respective plays *Kuta* and *Distortion*.

With a similar group of amateurs Chifunyisé made a play during the Chilambana workshop in 1979. Instead of a legend he chose the local problem of water shortage as subject for his development-supporting dance drama. In this production Chifunyisé succeeded in completely merging the performing arts. To give an idea of such a performance Chifunyisé's rough scenario is made up from his notes (1980).

The performance opens with a musician who, dressed in jeans, enters the stage playing on his guitar a popular rumba rhythm which is a mixture of contemporary music from Zaire and traditional Zambian rhythms. He sings Uyu Msikana Waima Yapa, a popular song from the eastern province.

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Ritual Vimbuza dance in Nkhata Bay (Malawi)
Photo: Feri de Geus

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The music primarily serves to greet the chief of the village where the performance took place. It is the formal salutation of the host and an introduction to the performance. He sings poetically and dances to his own music.

When the guitar music fades away loud drums take over the rhythm. The drums introduce a group of performers who enter the arena stage dancing in one line which splits up into five separate sections across the stage. The sound of the drums slowly recedes. The players have seated. Then the master drummer plays a clamorous roll which remains undefined until the other drums join in. Together they produce the rhythm needed for the Siyomboka-dance from the Western province. One of the players from the first group rises and dances a number of mimic sequences in which it becomes clear that a farmer is digging up and sowing his garden. At a central spot in the arena it changes into a mime symbolizing the fetching of water. The suggestion is made of a pool of water in the middle of the village. The farmer fetches the water to irrigate his garden. The rhythm's power declines and slowly changes into a Fwemba-dance from the eastern province. The farmer dances back to his original place.

Now a dancer from group two rises and in mimic sequences he dances the manufacturing of bricks. The vehement and acrobatic Fwemba rhythm abates. The brickmaker has run out of water. His dance becomes violent when he discovers that the fictitious pool in the centre of the stage has run dry. The drums indicate the brickmaker's disappointment by beating a low tone slowly. He has to cease his work and decides to sit down again.

The master drum gives one loud stroke and slowly the rhythm picks up a characteristic Kalela dance from the North. Three players from the third group dance two thirsty cows and a thirsting young cowherd who are approaching the fictitious pool. The pool's few drops are taken out by the boy. Subsequently the cows kick him and drink the last drops after which they, still thirsty, return to their places. Again the drums suddenly change to a lively rhythm with low tones. Two performers from the fourth group dance the Ching'ande from the southern province. The man is carrying an axe, the woman a water-jar. Dancing, they approach the centre of the stage. Mimicly they exchange bits of dialogue. The man is going out to chop wood and the woman is about to fetch some water. Suddenly the drums stop: there is no water anymore. When the man returns (dancing) his wife has cooked a meal with the last muddy drops of water. The man falls ill, his wife warns the neighbours who send for the local healer.

The rhythm changes to the Vimbuza from the eastern province. The barefoot doctor arrives. The first short dialogue of the dance drama and the second song follow in which the neighbours join in. The healer performs an exciting dance turning the patient on his side and using his horn to listen to the man's stomach. The drums cease and the doctor tells them in a dialogue that the patient has been bewitched because of his hard labour. However, he is able to cure him at the cost of four cows. The wife explains that a number of cows have been stolen and that the others have died of thirst. The healer, though, refuses to accept money.

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The musicians strike up another rhythm and the fifth group rises to mime a western doctor and his assistant. This scene is situated in a village hospital. The doctor and his assistant have just started laying out their instruments when the patient and the neighbours arrive. The hospital cannot help. The patient has to go to the large hospital in Lusaka. They carry him to an ox-wagon and leave. During this entire scene a soft drum is played.

Finally the Ching'ande rhythm is played again. We are back in the village. The woman is extremely happy to have her husband back alive and kicking. The man tells her that he was not bewitched at all but that his illness was due to the poor water of the pool. In mime the villagers dig a well. While digging they sing a UNIP-song. The completion of the well is attended by a huge beer-party with plenty of music and dance. To indicate the end of the festivity the drums once again beat the Fwemba and all performers dance in a circle. Actors run into the audience to invite them to share their dance with them which indicates the end of the play.

Traditional performing arts and modern media

In 1969 Titus Mukupo, publisher of the magazine *Outlook*, tried to begin a Zambian Dance Company (ZADACO) in Lusaka in collaboration with Pat Maddy, a director from Sierra Leone. They meant it to become a professional group. According to Maddy, the initiative failed because there were no full time dancers in Zambia and because funds and original concepts for acting were lacking. Perhaps Maddy's plan was too pretentious or maybe Zambia was not yet fit for a commercially exploited professional dance company.

In the midseventies, after the proclamation of a cultural 'reveille' in Zambia, miniskirts were banished from the daily streetscene. The National Dance Troupe, which tried to accomplish a certain measure of authenticity in their costumes, was cornered. Whereas the miniskirt had become a public taboo, one could still visit traditional dances performed by topless people wearing skirts which exposed more of the body than the shortest miniskirts in the streets. In what way should dancers be dressed: properly modern or very traditionally? A number of other similar delicate topics concerning the mixture of modern and traditional influences in the performing arts concentrated on the use of traditional stories, myths, legends and songs in modern drama.

How much people in the country still cherished their local cultural customs, and how much this still influenced the theatre became evident, says Idoye (1981:173), during a tour of the Chikwakwa theatre through Loziland. With the Lozi you are not allowed to turn your back on the chief. One night, when the Lozi chief was watching the performance from a hut specifically built for the purpose, the other spectators were obliged to go behind this private box and the players constantly had to keep in mind not to turn away from the chief during the performance but to act *a front* all the time.

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Finally, the emergence of popular culture is particularly stimulated through media like radio, film and television. Usually, the stimulated cultural products are exogenous though not always necessarily so. In the seventies the National Dance Troupe obtained a regular place in the television programme ZAM-ARTS. By means of improvisations and sketches they brought old folk tales on television. Manda provided the dances with comments. In these programmes the National Dance Troupe was inclined to work educationally. One of the choreographies, for instance, was about the various ways of greeting in the divergent cultures of Zambia. Another choreography was about the reactions of the elderly to the wearing of modern clothes.

The materials available in Zambia are certainly worth while to be used in music or dance drama, and even in literary drama. With the coming of the new media, dance was best suited for television broadcasts, but literary drama of course for the radio. In a culture in which the narrator takes in a central position, it goes without saying that radio, as a modern medium, corresponds best with the tradition of 'listening'. The Zambian Broadcasting Services (ZBC) started to produce radio plays. Known are the *Ifyabukaya* which were broadcasted in Bemba and the series of folk tales in Nyanja which playfully acquainted the listeners with the cultural traditions of the various ethnic groups of Zambia. David Yumbia, in particular, stimulated the development of an endogenous form of popular culture in Zambia. With the improvisations of his group as a basis, he created about 150 'radio plays' in the Bemba tongue, each of about fifteen minutes long. These radio plays enjoyed a tremendous popularity both in the city and in the country. Many primary school teachers gratefully employed these radio plays in their curriculum.

Wendland has analysed the entire series of Julian Chongo's folk stories as, for instance, with the animal fables in which the hare often fulfils the role of the trickster.

Many of these trickster stories enjoyed popularity as radio plays revolving around the hyena, the hare and man. In one of these stories the hare, for example, happens once again to be in one of his gluttonous moods. He wants to eat and steals his food from people who chase and catch him. Moving these people to tears the hare tells them that he will point out the real thief at a dance performance. Subsequently the hare pays a visit to the hyena whom he tells that the human beings are organizing a dance festival for both animals and humans. He also promises the hyena that when the latter will dance in front of the people covered with chicken-feathers, -legs, and -heads, he will be smothered with food.

It thus happened that the people understood the hyena to be a chicken-thief, while the hare was quietly filling his belly in some corner. The formula of the hare's roguish tricks almost always comes down to him making agreements with two parties, man and hyena, whom he trammels up in his breach of contract by means of his foxiness and tricks. Within the traditional context this procedure

provided the narrator with the possibility to add and educative value to his message. Thus the narrator perpetuated society's traditional values in his stories.

Final remarks.

As is stated before, development-supporting theatre was not new to Zambia. Political songs had been used as 'weapons' during the fight for independence. Since independence the Department for Cultural Services in Zambia falling under the Ministry of Education, is in charge of the development of a Zambian cultural policy, thus also with a policy concerning the performing arts. This policy was formally set down in writing for the first time in a state-publication in 1984, presented at the first National Conference of Zambian Performing Arts (July 1984). In it support was promised by the Department to the Zambian performing arts in a more profound way.

In 1974 the most important Zambian theatre groups were invited to come together to establish the Zambian National Theatre Arts Association (ZANTAA) formally. According to the memorandum of association ZANTAA sees contemporary Zambian theatre as "theatre which portrays and reflects the life and experience of the Zambian people (...), theatre which promoted and made use of Zambian folklore, myths, rituals, singing and dancing" (Chifunyisé 1977:6). The fact that ZANTAA's aim was to support and to develop this kind of theatre fitted well in the cultural 'reveille' the Department for Cultural Services was undergoing at that time.

The Chalimbana meeting of 1979 tried to bring together all these experiences in order to contribute to the advancement of a more systematic application of theatre in educative and development-supporting activities. One of the problems observed by the participants concerned the use of theatre in projects in which it was used as a means to educate, inform and train within the context of development programmes.

The participants of this meeting formulated a number of statements which warmly recommended the use of theatre in development-supporting activities. According to them, theatre remained a good instrument to bring people together and to motivate them next to discussing their problems also to make them think of possible solutions. As such, theatre appeared to be very effective in rural areas where the majority of the population was still illiterate. This kind of theatre could be made by everyone, by theatre makers, development workers, and the local population. Moreover, these plays were easy to realize, they were cheap and made use of existing popular forms of expression and theatrical skills. The use of theatre thus also supported the feeling of an inherent cultural identity.

ZANTAA's membership consisted of more than a hundred small Zambian theatre groups. Most of them were secondary school drama clubs. Also a number of spontaneously created groups in the working class quarters were members of ZANTAA[2]. The organization, therefore, experienced a revolutionary growth over

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the last couple of years. Perhaps this was the problem harassing the organization. First, it turned out to be easier to accomplish an agreement between ten groups than between 150. Secondly, the flow of drama clubs was enormous. They sprung up like mushrooms as long as there was an enthusiastic teacher or leader but they also died a quick death as soon as the stimulator felt away.

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Part II

Theatre for Development

9.
Performing arts and theatre for development in Africa

Colonial history has influenced the development of African literary theatre. According to Nazareth (1978:91-95) we only need to look at the historical differences between East and West Africa to illustrate this point. The colonial regime of both regions was organized differently. In contradiction to East Africa, West Africa did not know a settlers-policy in which colonists were stimulated to control and cultivate large stretches of land as large scale agricultural industries. This policy did contribute to the establishment of English as the formal medium for both black and white by way of the educational system. The black elite and the young intellectuals were taught English correctly and adopted the English literary and theatrical conventions as a starting-point. Pidgin-English, therefore, did not arise as it had done, for instance, in Sierra Leone where it had become the popular medium in the urban surroundings.

In the sixties, when a large number of African colonies became independent, a kind of pan-African relationship arose between these young states. As far as the fine arts and the performing arts were concerned. Adedeji (1981:76) thinks that in 1972 Efua Sutherland from Ghana came close to the African self-image in performing arts. She believed that especially in Africa the audience is a factor in the creative process within the performing arts which should not be underestimated. According to her opinion African theatre makers were occupied discovering the dramatic concepts and methods which undeniably characterize the African theatre heritage and were busy developing a routine along which one could communicate effectively with an audience during a performance.

The liveliness, so characteristic of the oral tradition and the performing arts in Africa, is less applicable to the products which spring from the literate culture. There were a number of tendencies and developments within African literary drama. First, there was the development to use myths and legends from outside Africa, as well as myths of creation from African cultures, including moralities, allegories, popular and trickster stories and rituals. Secondly, there was the tendency to use the national history as starting-point. Thirdly, there was the tendency to use contemporary themes and problems as the subjects of the play. Though it was primarily in the above-mentioned ethnical, poetical, mythical and historical plays that music, drama, singing and narrative art played important roles.

Modern drama in Africa disengaged itself from the community life in which the traditional ritual was an integrated part. However, according to Jones (1977:145) African playwrights, rightly, continued to look for a way with which

they preserved the element of active participation - one of the characteristics of ritual performances - in their literary drama.

In certain ways contemporary literary African drama differs from the traditional performing arts and rituals, but undoubtedly also has connections with it. Although a number of African playwrights deliberately use traditional dramatic, physical, musical and visual elements, it does not mean that 'modern' literary productions are the result of a continuous development of the old African ritual. Neither does it mean that the plays have become successful just because of the incorporation of these elements. There are plays in which they have been interwoven superficially as 'decorative' elements which are supposed to give the whole *couleur locale*. Nevertheless, according to Jones (1977:148) there are also plays and performances in which these elements have become an integral part . An example of this latest development is Wole Soyinka's *A Dance in the Forests* (1964), in which dancing and music have been integrated. The play is modern and contemporary but also uses traditional dramatic elements which you cannot ignore without interfering with the play's original plan and intention.

Women's theatre in Nigeria during the fifties

In the indigenous theatrical means of expression among the Yoruba of Nigeria, women have always had a fixed place. The women had at their disposal a wide scale of songs, dances and means of expression to utter, on the one hand, their admiration for, but, on the other hand, also their criticism against the male world. As early as in the fifties the Lagos Child Welfare Mother's Union, the name of which covers its functions fairly well, used theatrical means to propagate its ideas and comments within a wider female audience.

In Lagos this Union came into being among these Yoruba women who wished to take in a united and stronger stance against the changing norms and values in an urban environment. They used theatre traditionally, i.e. to be heard by the community at the moment things go wrong. And the Union was of the opinion that many things were going wrong in Lagos. Traditionally economic ties which had held the extended families together, were disappearing. Family ties and relationships became looser. There were other criteria concerning the social intercourse between men and women than in the country. Unwed mothers were not any longer provided for by their lovers, and had to rear their children on their own.

The women of the Union were not so much tied through religious bonds as through their cultural connections. Furthermore, their unity was strengthened because of their shared illiteracy. The plays the women performed for other women usually dealt with relational problems and the possible consequences for their children. Men and male foolishness, therefore, were very important in these plays. But male parts were played by women. They were all familiar with the play's theme. Despite the fact that they sometimes played according to scenarios,

their acting during the performances was mostly improvised. At the time Christina Oluremi Onasanya, better known as the radio-narrator Omobokun (daughter of Obokun), once provided them with a scenario. She was one of the most popular story tellers and her stories were broadcasted by radio Yoruba.

The plays brought by the Union were generally performed in squares, in the streets and occasionally in public places. The audience was prepared only to eagerly to comment directly on the humoristic and satiric way the women put on stage the problems and characters. Subsequently the performances spontaneously played with these comments, which the audience had counted on beforehand.

One of the plays, for example, tells about the proud Oba Idera, who as so many important chiefs is not really happy at home. He has several wives but is not satisfied with them because they do very little in- and outside of the household. "Aren't there any 'good' women, who do something else than empty my pockets", he wonders. The friend with whom he discusses his problems offers him his daughter Oriola as his youngest wife. Idera notices how beautiful she is but the time will have to tell whether she is good. He decides to marry her.

One of the first of Oriola's reforms inside the household concerns the control over the money. Idera's elder wives do not like this at all. Gossip arises: "She's only keeping that money for herself and her family. She spends it on the execution of *juju* on Idera and to pay her boyfriends with". Idera is like clay in the hands of the elder women. Oriola is banned from the palace and has to live somewhere at the back of the garden, although things are not going as they should in the palace. And also in the community dissatisfaction arises. When Idera sits in judgement upon discords concerning properties or matrimonial affairs he is too quickly prone to picking up the plot of land or the women in question for himself.

Oba Idera senses that there is something wrong and has the oracle priest summoned to explain it to him . The priest tells him that if he does not quickly change his behaviour a war will break out. Oba does not like this answer and has the priest removed. Oba Rugudu, the chief of an adjacent district, has followed all of this argus-eyed. One night he takes Oba Idera's community by surprise. He makes Idera his slave and takes the faithful Oriola as his wife. Oba Rugudu leaves nothing undone to humiliate Idera. He uses the latter's head as an occasional table, and has him work in the fields for hours on end. Oriola is a 'good' girl. Despite that she has been made Rugudu's wife she remains loyal to Idera in soul and mind. One day in the fields she has the chance to talk with Idera. He confesses all his stupid deeds from the past. He is resolved, that if he will ever be freed, to start a life with only one wife and if Oriola was that woman, Idera would be very happy.

Then Idera's people step in. No longer can they stand Rugudu's exploitation and the dishonouring of their former Oba. Rugudu is captured and brought back to his own palace. Idera returns as Oba, and has Oriola on his side as his only wife. Good has triumphed over evil in this melodrama and the Lagos Child

Welfare Mother's Union got across the message concerning the preference for monogamy and eternal faithfulness comically but also very directly.

Botswana is where it all started

About the 'theatre-for-development' projects in Botswana during the seventies so much can be said that it surpasses the scope of this book. Yet it ought to be mentioned because it is repeatedly referred to within the African context. *Laedza Batanani* is among others responsible for the change in objectives of several University theatre companies during the seventies. They did not go on the road anymore as a travelling circus to provide the country with culture about which one assumed it was lacking, but rather went on the road to make plays together with the rural population that agreed with the prevailing reality in the country.

Originally, the Tswana-people are farmers and stockbreeders. At this moment still 90% of the people at work are wholly or partly employed in the agricultural sector. The major source of income is cattle-breeding, which is primarily controlled by the Tswana (70 to 80%). Because the herds are led from one pasture to the next, agriculture is extensive. This means that considerable plots of land are used for cattle-breeding. Half of the farmers population own less than 10 heads and only 4% own more than 100 heads of cattle.

For most families in the agricultural sector the combination of a dry climate and little usable land means life at a subsistence level. One of the largest problems here is the lack of water. For the major part of Botswana is occupied by what we usually call the Kalahari desert, a semi-desert with low grasses and scrub. Arable farming is primarily aimed at self-support. Sorghum, corn and pearl barley are the most important crops. For about 23% of the rural population arable farming is the only means of existence, since they have no cattle.

Therefore, there is considerable difference between rich and poor in the country. However, this is a classic indication from the traditional culture in which cattle meant status and wealth. Not every family owned a lot of cattle whereas the other did. Cattle, power and prestige followed one another naturally. And it goes without saying that the family with a large stock obtained the chieftainship.

Although originally the regular community meeting led by the chief was known as *lekgotla*, the word *kgotla* eventually was used to denote both the location (the village square) and the meeting itself. This was the clearing where the chiefs and leaders of various sub-sections of tribal life regularly met to collectively discuss all the community problems. Other members and even outsiders were allowed to be present, were heard or could mingle in the deliberation. Women were excluded from the meetings unless they had to be heard. Of course, the final decision making lay in the hands of the chief.

In the current development philosophy of Botswana, democracy is seen as a condition for development. This is in line with the traditional administrative concept of *kagisano*, which means unity, peace, harmony and communal sense.

As part of the decision-making in the traditional tribal culture of the Tswana, consensus - the aspiration to reach agreement between all involved by means of a lengthy dialogue - is essential.

After the *Laedza Batanani* project appeared to be so successful, it was, of course, taken over by all kinds of other projects. One of them was a project especially designed for the Sarwa (the Bushmen). Actually, the Bushmen, or Sarwa, are hunters and food gatherers who used to inhabit a large part of Africa but who were driven back more and more by the surrounding stock-breeders and farmers. Forced or voluntarily, many have given up their former existence and are now employed by the Tswana or the whites as herdsmen or farmhands. Few still live the original way of life.

In the seventies research showed that many of them would like to have a plot of their own which they could cultivate independently and where they could keep cattle without being exploited any longer by the more wealthy farmers. The government met their request by appointing plots to them in the so-called state-lands and by providing these with wells.

However, it was a big step for the Sarwa to change after so many years from a state of dependence into a completely independent life. In order to bridge this gap the government organized a series of workshops for each group of new settlers, prior to their departure for their new community.

Following Kidd and Byram (1977:27) the Sarwa remained rather passive. Then the idea arose to apply the principle of participatory drama, which proved to be very successful. In the Sarwa culture there are rather a lot of performing-elements which lend themselves admirably to such an approach. Many Sarwa people have a talent to imitate situations and behavioural patterns. The Sarwa can tell each other stories for hours on end or perform dance dramas in which each Sarwa, man, woman or child is allowed to participate.

The actors in these participatory theatre projects were the Sarwa themselves, ten men and ten women. They sat in a circle and played a prefixed opening plot. They acted as if they were sitting around the fire in their new community and were talking about the drilling of the wells, how to maintain them and how to keep them running. Next, they started to discuss in more general terms how they should support themselves in their future livelihood. Each made a suggestion. However, they were quite pessimistic and expressed the hope that the government would put in an extra hand.

The two government officials entered, played by the development workers, who clarified that they should not count on any aid from the government. They had to prove themselves now. The intention of this outline was to make the Sarwa, through these staged group discussions, find out for themselves what the problems in their new living-situation would be and how to solve them.

Of course, this Sarwa group did not consist exclusively of the twenty actors and actrices sitting in the middle. In a circle around them were the other Sarwa, who were free to enter the inner circle to say what they had to say about the

raised problems. So, during the performance, new problems were brought forward.

Thus, participation of the local population was stimulated during the entire process: from preparing, executing and evaluating the discussion to -in a later stage- the actions carried out. In 1974 and 1975 the evaluation of these theatre projects was primarily aimed at the organisation of the festivals. In 1976 and 1977 its emphasis moved on to the execution and results of these educative activities. A comparison of attendance figures showed that the festivals were far more successful than the barren meetings of, for instance, the extension officers of the health-care sector. The participation in the preparation and execution, plus the actions actually carried out by the people after the festival, pointed out the success of the mobilization by using the performing arts as a motivating stimulus.

Drama teacher training at university level in Nigeria[1]

All Nigerian states have their own Council for Arts and Culture. In general these councils are meant to preserve the local culture. The main activities of such a council consist primarily of organizing traditional performances or parades for visitors and tourists, promoting or preserving the production of traditional artefacts, and booking a local singing and dancing group to welcome dignitaries at the airport. In the beginning of the eighties the Benue Arts Council gradually became aware of the need for a progressive popular culture alongside an operative traditional popular culture and an elitist westernized culture. The Council's new strategy was not only to serve the traditional folklore and culture, but also to sustain the prevailing cultural expressions of the rural population, the Tiv.

For this reason the Benue State Council for Arts and Culture organized a course of its own staff members and for a number of social and cultural workers of the Ministry for Social Welfare, Youth, Sports and Culture. In Nigeria almost every state in the federal republic has its own university. Several of them have an officially recognized 'department of performing arts' which grants degrees up to the level of doctorate. After first obtaining a background in literature a student spends a year studying the three essential elements of African theatre: drama, music and song, and dance. Then one specializes in one of these fields. A graduate in the performing arts must be able to play the drums or dance every bit as well as the village specialist. And that is quite an achievement.

A course was organised in which the participants were trained in the use of theatre for educative purposes and for 'awareness raising'. Apart from these officials, students of social academies, health care workers and regional radio officials took part. The course was led by 'resource people' teaching at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. A constant interaction with the local Tiv communities was stimulated. For the students this workshop was meant as a 'training of trainers'; for the local people as 'instruction and entertainment'.

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The workshop was meant for adult educators. The workshop was bilingual. Two techniques were used: improvisation and elocution. In the workshop the following construction was used, i.e. collection of data in the area (action research), analysis, improvisations, performances and, finally, discussions. The

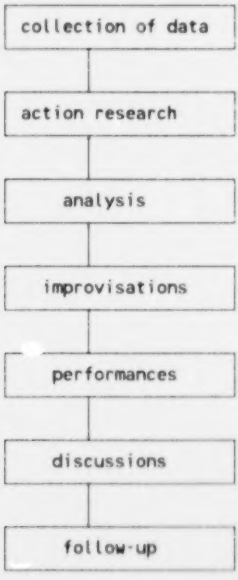

Figure 5: *Stages of participatory research in theatre for development*

results of this type of workshop depended mainly on the motivation of the individual participants. There was a clear discrepancy between participants sent by their employer and those who took part on a voluntary basis. Some of the participants were very content with their office-jobs in the urban centres and openly aversed to going back into the villages and talking to the Tiv. Others, like the regional radio associate, would preferably start tomorrow to train his own people in this way; for instance to make up radio plays together with the villagers at local level. Whatever intentions the participants had in mind, they all received a certificate of attendance at the end of the course.

In general it was not easy to present theatre in the Hausa states of northern Nigeria, such as Zaria, Kaduna and Benue. The population is made up largely of Islamic Hausas with small enclaves of other peoples. A devout Muslim sees theatre as exhibitionism. And under no circumstances may women appear in public. In one village stones were thrown at the students, play-acting in public. The local population could not appreciate this scandalous behaviour. In another village they were allowed to perform, but the chief forbad the use of drums as

blasphemous. Just one example of the degree to which these open-air performances were hampered by tradition was the fact that they had to be scheduled for 3.30 pm after work and afternoon prayers, but before dusk.

The performance tuned to the problems of the community of Akpagher were focused on the water problem. The wells in this village were all dried up. The village had once collected 6000 *naira* communally to have new wells dug. The administrative winding-up took so long that by the time the government's officials came to locate and dig the wells, the population had decided they would rather have a permanent well. Administratively this caused such a great deal of paperwork that the officials left again to consult their supervisors. To dig a well costed more than the raised 6000 *naira*. Relatively speaking the digging of wells is not so expensive at all, but since water is essential for agriculture, some engineers found a profitable market here. The increasing bureaucracy caused the prices to be extremely high and prevented the participation of the villagers in decisions at the top. Everything costed money, mostly to get access to people at the top; this set the price of the digging of a well much higher.

When a group of participants in Akpagher represented this problem in a critical way at an early stage during public rehearsals in the village square, there was a minor quarrel with the local Ibo-policeman. He threatened to stop the performance for lack of licenses, however, the chief had already agreed. This gave the group of actors the feeling that the 6000 *naira* in question were entangled in a corrupt game. The group then faced the choice whether to focus on something else, or whether to act out the problem in spite of the political risks. In the end a number of the participants went to the local government officials to get some information about this business. It became clear that no bribery was involved and that the 6000 *naira* were neatly locked away somewhere in a safe. The play could go on. However, this showed how vulnerable this form of theatre is. There were no strong political parties or unions who supported this kind of theatre, or who protected the actors and community members from potential reprisals. Also it took a lot of time to convince the audience that the actors were not hired as political fawners.

Finally participants managed to get the inhabitants of the community to talk. In the final presentation and during the public rehearsals the actors tried to make it impossible for their informants to be identified as such by the onlookers, so that the informants from the village could not be traced. As a result of this additional information from the local community and from the local officials a potential solution was built in at the end of the play of how to retrieve the 6000 *naira*. In the closing scene the son of an illiterate farmer wrote a letter to the political assembly man of the village in the capital. The assembly man was asked to acquire further information about the deposit. An implicit threat had been built into the letter in order to press this political representative. The son wrote that if the representative failed to respond within fourteen days, a delegation of about

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300 villagers would come to his house to offer him a petition while singing happy songs.

The attitude of the drama students towards making theatre for and with rural communities was often not quite what it should be. Some stridently preached about the class struggle, thinking that this was what was expected of them that they would get good grades that way, or simply because it was fashionable.

The course leaders tried to make both the students and the audience see local problems as more than merely topics for anecdotes. The object was to force them to make a deeper analysis. Why did the man beat his wife? Because she was away overnight to get water from the distant well? What did the women fight about at the well? Did they fight about the scarcity of water? Why was water so scarce? Because somebody made off with the money for the communal well. Why did that happen? Because there was so much corruption involving economic and political interests. Therefore: if the women in the village got fed up from the fact their daily household activities, like fetching water, were made impossible, and then on top of that they could expect a beating from their husbands, who could really them for leaving the village. The alternatives of going to work in the nearby cement works or in a bar as a prostitute began to look better to them.

Women running away, was thus seen not just in psychological terms, but also in its social and economic context. This may give the impression that the performances were dull and dry, but nothing could be further from the truth. The women's arguments at the well which ended in dumping each other's jugs, men's barroom brawls with the barkeeper quietly moving his bottles and glasses to a safer place such situations were portrayed with so much humour and accuracy that the message was put across with great appeal.

Theatre for Development workshop didactics

'Theatre-for development' is a process and the best way to learn the process is to go through it. Therefore the participants learn during the workshop the skills (action oriented field research, problem analysis, drama-making, theatre skills, performance organization, discussion and evaluation) not in isolation from, but in relation to a practical, 'operational' context, i.e. carrying out a small, community based 'theatre-for-development' project.

Groups have been formed to train trainers for literacy work and adult-education. The object was to show these people how they could use theatre. First an inventory of local problems is made which will later be related in the plays. In each play of about an hour, one problem theme is explored: the poor distribution of fertilizer, problems of health care etc.

The participants during such a workshop learn among other things how to use locally existing theatrical elements to produce a performance; they learn how to write a scenario and how to apply a simple analysis in the villages in order to

obtain material for the plays. They are also trained in working together with the people during improvisations. To the course-co-ordinator, such a seminar, including the performances, is certainly not a final product. It is a stage the participants reach in their personal development as a trainer. However, to the people in the local communities the performances are a single experience; that is why the villagers have a right to see a final product, a performance, which is entertaining as well as a stimulus to 'conscientization'. That is why the performances deal with the social problems in the villages. The real object is to motivate the community, by means of theatre, to discussion and action.

For this reason a number of realistic alternatives for action are shown during the rehearsals and the performance. Some of the rehearsals are held in public on the village-green. According to the theatre director Augusto Boal, these rehearsals are the most important contributions to the inhabitants' process of conscientization. Again and again passers-by are questioned whether what they see on stage also applies to their own situation; are there any elements that should be omitted or added? By choosing this approach the actors hope to avoid the reaction: "Oh, here comes another bunch that insists on developing us. Let's go and hear what they have to say this time." That is why the plays are realistic and funny and offer a multiple choice of alternatives for action. Moralism, the good guys versus the bad guys, is avoided. The performance depends on the participation of the audience. Finally, the build-up, the design and the theme of the plays are such as to relate as well as possible to the way the local people are used to making and watching their own theatrical performances.

The first day of such a workshop is an introductory day. The participants are divided into sub-groups. Those that speak the local language are proportionally spread over the groups. On the second and third days resource persons give an elementary training in the crucial theatre elements: dance, music and singing, and drama. On the fourth day groups separately leave for one of the communities, all in the surroundings of where the training takes place. In these villages the groups introduce themselves and explain to the inhabitants and informants what they intend to do. Also permission has been asked from the local authorities to do such theatrical work. After that the participants divide themselves into little groups and talk with the villagers about the prevalent problems in the village. In this way an inventory of problems is made. At the end of the day the participants discuss among themselves what they have found out. The list of problems is analysed and structured. A provisional choice of problems to be dealt with is made up.

The fifth day is set apart for improvising. Certain anecdotes told by the villagers are acted out. The most important and successful scenes are reported. At the end of the day a second selection of useful material is made. The sixth day is devoted to roughly 'editing' the scenes, creating a story-line, making up a plot and the analysis of the main characters. On the seventh day there is a brief rehearsal in the morning an at noon this rough form is shown to fellow participants, while in the afternoon the play is presented in the villages as a public

rehearsal. The eighth and ninth day are spent working on the completion of the play with the comments received the day before from the villagers. Singing, dancing, music and further action is added. The tenth day is used to acquire additional information about the problems dealt with, from the local authorities (action research). The information given in the play is verified, and the technical sides (e.g. lighting) of the performances settled. Local musicians are invited to participate in the performances. On the eleventh and the twelfth day the performances are shown in the pilot villages, at night. Each performance consists of the different plays by the separate groups of participants. The entire performance takes about two or three hours which often is nothing compared to the native performances (anecdotes, tales and acts). The audience is used to performances which go on till late at night. The final day is occupied by a full meeting in which the findings and experiences of the participants are exchanged. The general wind-up of the course is made at the end of the day.

The most important themes that are dealt within the workshop and the final performances are most often dealing with modernization versus traditionalism, young versus old, problems concerning cooperativism, unmotivated land-reclamation by the government, the lack of fertilizers and water, runaway wives, the disturbance of polygamy, the bribing of officials and such. Even though bribing is a common thing in everyday life, the villagers will rather not see this corruption on stage.

The scenery during a play most often is a shady tree. Props are hardly used and borrowed from the locals. The audience that is either sitting or standing walk off at times, come back, fetch something to eat, etc. This is the way in which they have got used to attending such long performances. The bar-owners and the female peddlers take their booze and their goodies and go into the audience. When there are shouts for beer on the other side of the stage, the merchant is not afraid of walking across the stage right through the scene.

Groups have learned above all how important it is to have a good script to translate the social problems that have been identified into a realistic story with a series of dramatic situations that reflect social conflicts. This last point is especially important for adding some nuances to the opposition between the 'good guys' and the 'bad guys'. Such nuances are essential for all of these productions. It is simple to put a label on a character, but explaining that character's behaviour in terms of his social background requires finesse.

At this sort of performances it is rare for local authorities to come and watch. When they do come it is out of politeness and they usually disappear after watching two scenes. At times it is too embarrassing for the officials to see themselves depicted on stage. In general the onlookers very much enjoy the public rehearsals that are held on the village square.

It is clear that in this case theatre is an instrument for exploring and portraying current social processes. In theatre for development a script is never 'finished'. Often the rehearsal is more interesting than the performance itself

because of audience reactions, which are then incorporated into the play. Action is shared between the actors and the audience.

This style of theatre also requires a different type of training in which trainers and adult educators learn to analyse the social situation of their audience, and to use theatrical techniques common to the local oral tradition.

Malawi: university theatre and censorship

Kerr (1982:47-48) distinguished three trends in the popular theatre in Malawi. First there was the elite literary theatre in English which, for want of television, was rather popular with a small group of well educated people. Secondly there was the, as he called it, 'populistic' theatre. This theatre is tuned to the average Malawi population but openly follows the government policy or made itself subservient to national campaigns. Finally he mentioned a genuine folk theatre, which apparently was a-political and used all kinds of authentic elements of the theatre, such as singing, dance, music and dialogue.

When discussing theatre, Kerr (1982:47-48) states, the political circumstances of the country one is dealing with should be taken into consideration. Malawi provides us with an example of how a growing post colonial literary tradition for years conflicted with the National Board of Censorship. Malawi gained its independence in 1964 and, ever since, has had a president as head of state who prefers to use a one-party system, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), of which the president himself is the leader. Within the African context this is no exception. All the country's media are under direct control of a Board of Censorship, including plays and theatre performances. According to the Law of Censored Supervision over Entertainment a play can be tragedy, comedy, acting, opera, farce, revue, variety, comic interlude, melodrama, pantomime, dialogue, prologue, epilogue, poetry, lectures, visual designs and song texts. The law prohibited in these media any public display of or reference to sexual, religious or political affairs. With this it was almost impossible for writers' and actors' workshops, for literary student's magazines and theatre groups to turn out any products. In 1972 of eight suggested plays four were passed for performance. Of these, one was immediately suppressed after its first showing. This situation lasted until 1978.

It was obvious that the reintroduction of this existing law mainly aimed at shutting up those media which had a grasp on a considerable audience. The literary activities at the university were isolated from the general public. The university, established in Blantyre since 1964, and its allied colleges mainly thought of theatre activities as extra curricular. The only college which officially had a Drama Department was Chancellor College. As a sub-section of the English department, it regularly turned out theatre productions, such as *Everyman* or Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle*. Although the language used on stage was English, these plays toured the country. To make the text less inaccessible to the

rural population key lines were vaguely rendered in the local languages such as Chewa.

In 1973 the University was literally isolated from the general audience. Colleges were fused and moved to Zomba. An open-air theatre was built, which became the base of the new Chancellor College Travelling Theatre. However, increasing cultural suppression and censorship between 1974 and 1976 made it impossible to make a free choice of the world repertory or to work on performances based on improvisation. The only way to continue productions was by the use of allegories and symbols which only insiders might interpret as hidden political criticism. Censorship led to ingenuity and it was not surprising that the resistance against this socio-cultural suppression stimulated this use of allegories, usually derived from indigenous metaphors and endogenous resistance during the colonial past.

The growing number of elaborate studies of the Chewa and Man'ganja rituals and the mythic sources of the Nyau cults were a stimulus here. To the government officials this literary development was a welcome phenomenon at a time of the Africanization of history. Not until the mid-seventies indigenous performing arts were acknowledged as a source of inspiration for literary development in Malawi. The number of performances based on the indigenous culture, symbols and allegories increased remarkably.

Towards the end of the seventies the pressure of censorship in Malawi declined. From 1981 onwards a start has been made with the production of plays based on improvisations, spoken in the local tongue, denouncing social abuse. In 1981 *Eviction* had thus been produced. It dealt with a teacher who had been evicted by the Ministry of Housing. The result was that the Office of the President and the Cabinet (OPC) invited the university theatre to come and play in Mbalachanda, in a newly opened rural centre in a remote part of the Mzimba district.

It was thought that this invitation could be accepted only if it was explicitly allowed to make a play by means of workshops, to be performed for and by local people. The workshops would follow the model of Laedza Batanani from Botswana. Consent was given and together with the rural population a number of plays was made about literacy and sanitary problems, about landed property and landless labourers, and about the activities of the Agricultural Information Service. The performances were shown in several surrounding villages. The discussions with the audience afterwards were somewhat problematic. They were usually dominated by a number of Malawi Congress Party loyalists.

Here two problems immediately emerged: how to reach the local people without interference of the village head and how to clarify that the students had not come to solve the problems of the people. The students only wanted to act out local problems and put them under discussion. Whether the rural population had been fundamentally helped by this kind of workshops and performances remained the question. A practical follow-up in setting up a programme of activities to

actually support the local people was clearly not in the ordinary run of things for the University as a training college.

African networking of performing artists

Jointly organized by the International Theatre Institute (ITI), and the International Amateur Theatre Association (IATA), with the participation of the government of Zimbabwe, a Consultative Conference on African Theatre was held under UNESCO, from the third to the fifth of September, 1983. The University of Harare hosted a gathering of some thirty theatre workers, the majority from countries south of the Sahara.

To demonstrate their determination to give a voice to the African performing artists, and in order to defend more effectively their interests through collective action, while undertaking the promotion of African theatre and the performing arts, the participants at the conference unanimously signed a charter, thus giving birth to the Union of African Performing Artists (UAPA), as a pan-African organisation. Thus this Union was born out of the initiative of theatre workers. However, it embraces artists from other forms of performing arts as well such as music, dance, folklore and even cinema.

The Union aims to be interdisciplinary and non-political. It does not discriminate between the practitioner and the theoretician, the modern artist and the traditional artist, nor does it discriminate between the amateur and the professional.

One of the objectives of the UAPA was the provision of training facilities for African performing artists, a training programme with a non-academic approach to training. A training programme aiming at mastering both quality in performance and development supporting issues in which the trainee learns technical and communicative skills that will enable him to improve his performance, the management of his work and the overall development of this community, his culture and his nation.

For this reason the opening of an African Centre for the Training of Performing Artists (ACTPA) was included on the UAPA programme of action and thanks to the (then) vice president of the Union Daniel Labonne the creation of this training centre received priority on the agenda[2]. Part of the strategy to realise ACTPA was to relate the urge for this continuing training programme to more international policy lines. And this world expanding policy lines were provided by UNESCO contributing a lot of sympathy but little financial support.

Obtaining the sympathy of the UNESCO International Fund for the Promotion of Culture a Programme for the Development of the Performing Arts in Africa was concipiated, falling within the framework of the objectives of the World Decade for Cultural development (WDCD) on the one hand, and within the priority given by UNESCO to development in Africa during the Medium Term Plan (1990-1995), on the other. This programme is based on South-South

relationships because of the almost general absence of horizontal exchanges among African countries, particularly in the performing arts. African artists have greater opportunities to be known outside the continent on the occasion of international festivals and meetings or concerts organized by western promoters, than by fellow Africans in other countries of the continent.

With this moral support from UNESCO it was up to UAPA to formulate a plan for a training programme, a location and a financial credibility to be sponsored by international donor agencies. To realise these ends there was a need for a private and independent intermediary organisation, a consultancy agency. For this reason Daniel Labonne started a modest bureau called African Theatre Exchange (ATEX), based in London close by the North European donor agencies. There the elaborated plans for ACTPA were born and workshops were programmed of which the African Symposium Workshop (AFSYMWORK) in Mauritius (1988) is the most well known example[3].

During this workshop the plans for the pan-African training centre for performing artists got solid ground. The long term objective of such a training centre should have been the promotion of the African performer, allowing him to play a more responsible and effective role in his society. On an even larger scale the training programme aimed at restoring the educative and cultural role of African performing arts in the future African society. And the government of Zimbabwe felt very strong about housing the African Centre for the Training of Performing Artists in the Castle, located in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

This attractive building is self-contained with facilities for offices, workshops, recreation rooms, board and lodging for the students and a performing area. The Ministry of Education and Culture of the government of Zimbabwe were willing to take full responsibility for housing the training centre on the explicit condition that it would be financed by donor agencies from the North. This should not have been a problem after ACTPA/ATEX already staged two training workshops, both ending with a well-received performance: the dance drama *Footprints* (1990) partly based upon Footprints about Bantustan by Tafataona Mahoso and *Lucy & me* (1991).

According to the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and Culture these two productions brought together several eminent African theatre trainers and performers from fifteen African countries and cultural backgrounds. Especially in the production *Lucy & me* the course as well as the performances brought together anthropology and performing arts. After all, Lucy is 3.5 million years old according to the academicians. Thus, in African terms Lucy, the small hominid of which the bones were discovered in Hadar (Ethiopia, 1974), is the mother of all ancestors, the female creature entering mythology.

Although these two performances were received with a lot of sympathy, the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and Culture in the end of 1991 could not guarantee the follow-up of the Bulawayo based African centre for the Training

of Performing Artists (ACTPA), because international donor agencies refused to commit themselves to support the project for the duration of at least three years[4].

This is a pity, because within the Southern African region Zimbabwe is one of the most active countries exploring the effectiveness of theatre for development within national campaigning as well as small-scale local development communication supporting projects. For example, the Kenyan refugee Ngugi wa Mirii theatre coordinator for the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP) initiated a country wide network of community based theatre companies which are strongly interested in theatre-for-development techniques.

Final remarks

This chapter mainly aimed at initiatives which, during the seventies, were undertaken by the universities in several African countries, to introduce theatre for development to the rural communities. Most of these initiatives were launched by a small group of foreign employees attached to the departments of English or Drama, which were sometimes also called the department of 'Dance, Music and Drama' or the department of 'Performing Arts'. The staff members of these various universities knew each other or had met each other in a later stage of their career. Hence the influence on one another's approach was inevitable.

In this context the preceding sections on Botswana, Nigeria and Malawi showed in fact how vulnerable these forms of theatre might be. Apart from taking the time to convince the audience that the actors are not hired as political fawners, there is always the chance that by lack of strong political parties or unions who support this kind of theatre, the actors and community members receive little protection from potential reprisals. Several constraints are to be distinguished all of a socio-cultural nature. First of all there are the authoritative bottlenecks to be mentioned, either of a religious or of a political nature. For these local authorities the display of problems was one thing, action was another. That is why the performances are always critically observed by the local religious and secular leaders.

For example, in the eyes of a devout Muslim theatre is considered as mere exhibitionism. Under no circumstances women are allowed to watch or even mingle with the male-dominated audience. In this context it does not prove easy to present theatre in the Hausa states of Northern Nigeria, such as Kaduna and Benue.

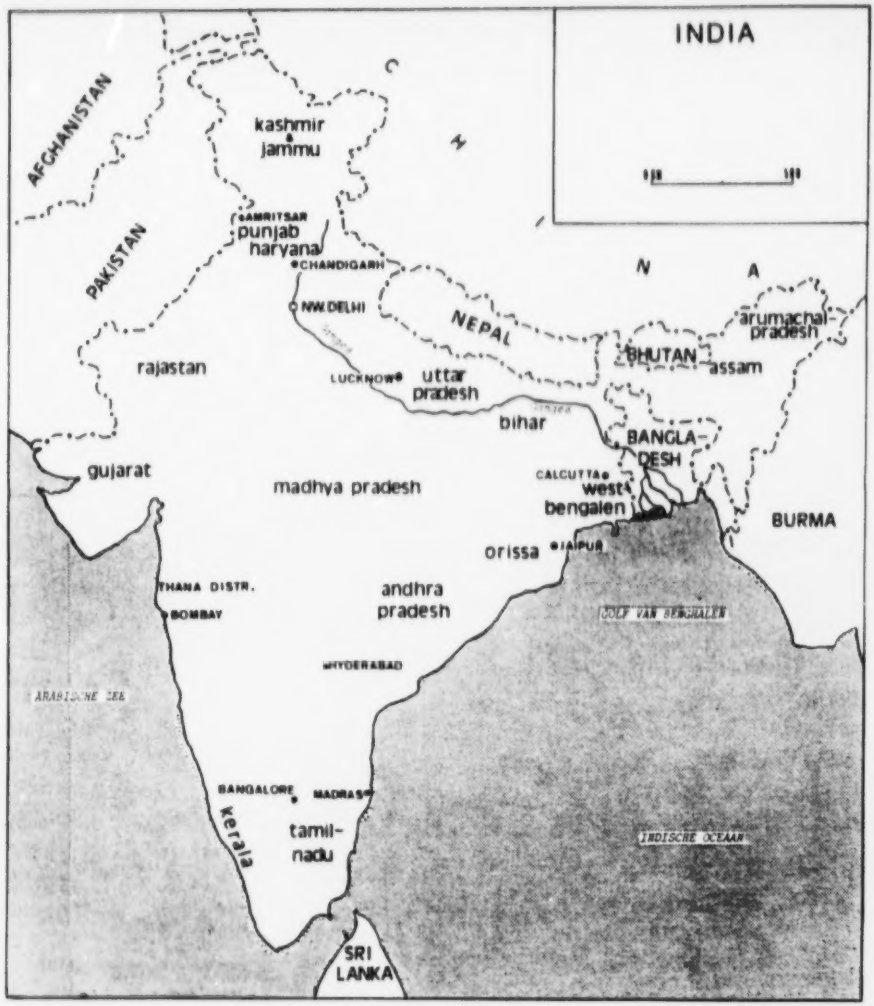
10.
From popular theatre to theatre for development in India and Bangladesh

When in the second half of the 18th century the British invaded the Indian subcontinent, and imposed their educational system upon the elite, there was a temporary cultural revival. But as soon as the Bengal elite had mastered British education and understood that colonialism did not serve their interests, resistance started. The new forms of urban theatre, which the colonials had taught them, now became an instrument to vent protest.

In the second half of the 19th century Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1823-1873), the first modern Bengal playwright, presented a play which voiced the social circumstances of that time quite directly. This initiative was further elaborated upon by Dinabandhu Mitra (1830-1873) with his play *Nildurpan*. According to Richmond (1972:65-69), the play gave a picture of the mid-19th century oppression by the British merchants who, supported by the imperialistic regime, forced the population to grow indigo plants. This play was immediately forbidden. Tagore later contributed to the line of this tradition by giving the Bengal plays a literary standard which also left room for his social awareness of the colonial situation.

The nationalistic sentiments thus evoked, provoked the 1876 censorship law, with which the British tried to suppress anticolonial cultural expression on the Indian continent. Later *Nildurpan* was succeeded by a number of other 'mirror' plays which told about the *zamindars* (the absentee landed gentry), tea plantations, bureaucrats, police, etc. Around 1900 these spontaneous anticolonial outbursts rallied to a clearly nationalistic battle. The 'traditional' village theatre became the symbol of the revolt and the Bengal elite, with Tagore who had first looked down upon this type of cultural expression, began to revalue it. Theatre now appeared to be such a powerful instrument in evolving anticolonial sentiments that a censorship law was called for. This act still holds in India and Bangladesh. To this day it is obligatory to hand in the scripts with the authorities in order to obtain a performance licence.

During the twenties the playwrights Mukunda Das and Motilal Ray were influenced by rural *jatra* theatre. *Jatra* literally means a procession but, according to Scott (1973:46), came to designate a type of folk theatre whose beginnings were in festivals held in honour of the gods. Following Bharucha (1979:80), *Jatra* might be described as the quintessential folk-drama of Bengal, operatic in form and originating in the religious processions of the Bhakti movement in the fifteenth century. Jatra is an accepted institution in Bengal, familiar to the whole community. Traditionally spoken *jatra* dealt with historical and mythical themes.


INDIA
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NW.DELHI
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arumachal-
pradesh
rajastan
LUCKNOW
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BANGLA-
DESH
gujarat
madhya pradesh
CALCUTTA
west
bengalen
BURMA
orissa
JAIPUR
THANA DISTR.
BOMBAY
andhra
pradesh
GOLF VAN BENGALEN
HYDERABAD
ARABISCHE ZEE
BANGALORE
MADRAS
kerala
tamil-
nadu
INDISCHE OCEAAN
SRI
LANKA

A shift evolved in the main characters in *jatra* influenced by changing views on society. As political consciousness and dissatisfaction with the British rule increased Jatra writers were quick to take up the cue; mythological fights between good and evil suddenly symbolized the clashes between the playwrights put in prison. This happened to the authors Das and Ray who created a new form, *swadeshi jatra* (i.e. nationalistic 'jatra'), which was devoted to current themes such as colonial dominance, caste oppression, feudal exploitation (Rea 1979:49-50). Makunda Das landed in prison for this. Later onwards *jatra* stories about princes and kings were slowly replaced by those on bureaucrats, playing the heroes in plain love stories.

With the birth of Pakistan in 1947, when West Pakistan decided that Urdu should be the national language, a bitter revolt broke out. Again song and drama played significant roles in feeding nationalistic sentiment. One of the playwrights, Munir Chowdhury, wrote his well-known play *Kabor* (Graveyard) in prison (Kidd and Rashid 1983:40). Later, during the fights for independence in the fifties and sixties theatre again had a mobilizing role in Bangladesh.

It is not surprising the freedom fighters against the Pakistani in Bangladesh discovered the power of folk culture when fighting for their independence. Especially the power of folk poetry as a means of commentary made it, according to Haque (1975), so suitable to arouse nationalist feelings. Its traditionally florid language and political metaphors were something exclusively for the local population, as the oppressors - under whose very noses the songs were sung - were not familiar with the local symbols and images which were culturally and historically determined.

Even after the fights for freedom and independence in 1971 cultural oppression remained. The government of what had become Bangladesh imposed an entertainment tax on theatre tickets of 150%. In 1975 this form of tax collection was abolished, but strict censorship on plays still remained. The only change here was that the scripts did not need to be sent to the local police station anymore, but to the National Art Council.

Theatre and political organization

Although over the ages Bengal has changed considerably, what has changed little in all that time is the power structure in this society. As Oonk (1986:7) had indicated, the natural resources of this essentially rich country, like land, distribution channels and water, are in the hands of few. In short, although there is plenty to provide for the basic needs of the population, poverty exists because a small group of privileged people still dominate and exploit the mainly landless rural population.

To stimulate the local people and to promote political commitment local cultural expressions such as theatre, singing, dance and music were used. As Yeats (1976:327-338) clearly indicated, a people's theatre always is a theatre of

underprivileged, seeking for national and/or cultural identity. People's theatre in India and Bangladesh clearly had this function up to 1947.

In India the power of theatre in support of national development had been discovered before World War II. Towards the end of the thirties Northern India, particularly Bengal, witnessed the rise of a movement aiming to unite all the factions of politically committed theatre groups, in order to protect them against censorship and further political splintering.

In the forties and fifties a strong labour movement arose in the fertile areas of Thanjavur, stimulated by the Communist Party of those days. But in other areas where the agricultural labourers were not as strongly organized, non-governmental organizations, usually set up by young intellectuals, devoted themselves to organizing these labourers. Thus Shramik Sangathana, an organization of young dedicated activists, was "engaged in organizing the rural poor, especially the agricultural labourers in the villages of Dhulia district, Maharashtra" (Manahar 1979:19). In their campaigns theatre was often used as an educative means for their target group and as an 'agit-prop' instrument to manifest themselves. Sanghatana tried to revise traditional theatre forms. Themes were introduced which were based on the audience's immediate knowledge of life. Since the use of theatre proved to be successful it was frequently used during manifestations in which Sanghatana took part.

This leftist movement was inclined to look up to Russian post-revolutionary cultural policy. Consequently, when Germany invaded Russia in 1941 these northern groups united into the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA).

> "Propaganda plays by the Indian Peoples Theatre before World War II and during the war were also an instrument of adult education of sorts. In the early fifties some very interesting experiments were made by Mod Mandlies, small troupes sponsored under the Adult Education Programme of Bihar Government" (Mathur 1977:2).

In 1942 IPTA wanted to provide theatre for the rural population in the different regions of India by means of well-known traditional court and folk forms of theatre. In those kinds of theatre such themes as social injustice, political oppression, economical exploitation etc. were dealt with. In the state of Andhra Pradesh enthusiastic labourers used Burrakatha, a very popular way of story-telling in which a narrator, accompanied by two drum players, sings and dances out historical tales. Sometimes one of the drum players may then imitate a well known politician or make a stinging remark about corruption among local bureaucrats. Craftily the narrator immediately knows how to incorporate these anachronisms into relevant historical tales.

Between 1941 and 1947 IPTA spread all over the Indian sub-continent, though rooting most strongly in Bengal. Initially its task was to caution the audience about a possible invasion from Japan, urging them to lend temporary

support to the British. During the Bengal famine in 1943, provoked by the British and which killed five million people, the Bengali IPTA group toured all of India to denounce the black food market (Raha 1978:126-140).

> "In an attempt to break through the general apathy of the Indian peasantry, touring became an integral part of IPTA's activities. At the height of activity, between 1943 and 1948, the various troupes travelled from village to village with a series of one-acts and full-length plays, and ballets. Using scripts, as well as highly improvisational works, productions were crude, at best (....). In Maharashtra the company used the popular bawdy tamasha, commonly known as lok natya, or people's drama, to present social criticism and propaganda" (Waltz 1977:33).

After World War II, with the striving for a peaceable solution for India's independence, the common goal had in fact been reached. This became clear right away, when the co-operation between communist-oriented groups and non-communist, though anti-imperialist groups was jeopardized by the country's independence. The sense of collaboration and unity of purpose had all but vanished. IPTA's organization was to disintegrate rapidly. Shortly after independence the Ministry of information had its eye on theatre as a modest medium for information campaigns and adult education.

> "In 1953 the Indian Adult Education Association organized a conference on the use of drama for social education. Subsequently the Song and Drama Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting developed and promoted a special style of presenting purposive messages through the medium of drama. Playwrights like Manmath Ray and Govind Vallabh Pant presented some attractive scripts. Of course the distinction between education and message communication is rather subtle and usually the latter becomes the pre-ponderent theme" (Mathur 1977:2).

Objective and subjective popular culture at the level

Despite the fact that Gandhi declared untouchability to be illegal, the deeply rooted social rules and the moral codes persisted and can still be witnessed in their purest form in the country of South India. Economically, the harijans are wholly dependent on their lords. The harijans have developed a kind of cultural inferiority and have aspired to adoption in the caste Hindu society. In contrast to tribal societies living in the same area, the harijans have no inherent distinctive culture on which to build an identity of their own and from which to transform their own situation.

Further, the harijans did not have any influence in local politics because the traditional village council, the *panchayat*, is controlled by the caste representa-

tives. "Consequently, it would be better to speak in this sense of the assembly or panchayat of the dominant castes, rather than of the village panchayat" (Dumont 1972:21). Although the word originally referred to a plural authority, it slowly but surely developed into a council consisting of a small nucleus of notables or specialists, possibly joined by more or less active spectators of the dominant caste.

According to Kidd (1980:457) harijans do not know any cultural forms of expression which are their own, except for a strong characteristic percussive art. They are, therefore, expected to add lustre to the funerals of their landlords with their drumming. They worship the same gods (outside the temple), take part in and organize the same religious festivals. However, they remain outside observers of the rituals of others.

The plays performed by the harijans are imitations of the Hindu puranic plays, which deal with mythological themes perpetuating the hierarchy of castes and the inferior position of the harijans. When harijans selected traditional forms of theatre, their actors were not expected to play the parts of the gods. A harijan playing a role such as the one of Krishna is seen as a blasphemous deed. Therefore a genre of adapted plays arose in which the divine characters were not as prominent as the human ones, so that heroes and villains gained in importance.

In this context, Roy (1981) makes a distinction between objective and subjective poetry. Objective poetry is written from an outsider's view, describing rural life as seen by an outside observer. It contains options for change which are in the population's control. It also indicates how to start a process of change, with or without intervention by aid organizations outside the community. Subjective poetry is of the people themselves, relating and reflecting a wide range of issues: agricultural matters, questions of health, women's problems and community problems. As this 'poetry' (drama, dance, songs) is composed from a participant's point of view in the given culture, they are a rendering of the existing socio-economic problems of the audience. This subjective poetry re-affirms the current self-image and identity of the target group.

Subjective poetry can be found especially in traditional forms of theatre such as *jatra*, *kabigan* and *puthi*. *Puthi* is a theatrical form of expression which is typical of the illiterate culture in the north of Bengal. It is a combination of recitation and singing, usually done by specialists who tell legends and pseudo historical stories. The *puthi*-artist is mostly invited by the village on the occasion of a particular festivity.

Kabigan is an improvised debate in verse, played or recited by two narrators (*kabials*), and based on a subject which is of importance to the village at that particular time (Karim 1980:6).

> "Kabigan (...) consisted of two or more singers engaged in a question and answer kind of sing song in which new topics and topical subjects were almost always commented on. In several cases, it was the audience itself that

suggested a topic, and this made the song almost a continuous form of interplay of ideas and a two-way communication" (Kashyap 1976:71).

Kabigan is a performance based on instant improvisation and consisting of an extempore duel of wit in verse set to music. Acharya (1979:88) described how in ancient times, in Bengal, this form of popular entertainment presented, in its conventional obscenities, the decadent feudal lords, under whose patronage it flourished in the urban areas. After the war this performing technique was used successfully by Ramesh Seal, a poet from Chittagong, in order to celebrate, in verse, the lives of the people and to mobilize the people politically against the Pakistani oppression.

But as from the fifties these genres have been subject to change. As the money economy became rooted in village life the art of the theatre turned into merchandise. Traditional players who in former days had combined their work in the fields with play-acting, now either stopped playing or became fully and commercially paid actors (Kidd and Rashid 1983:40). Jatra groups which had once depended on the financial support of a *zamindar*, now made commercial tours paid by their patrons, the large land owners of the village.

Take, for instance, the outstanding traditional Bengal form of theatre, the 'jatran' - theatre. Would this be a medium appropriate for political popular theatre under the current circumstances? At the moment, because of commercial pressure, 'jatran'-plays are played by professional groups in city-theatre. For a stiff price, these groups are invited by the wealthy landowners to add lustre to festivities. However popular this form of theatre may be with the people, its current way of production directly associates it with the elite. The plot usually is serious in character but is interrupted by farcical interludes of locally hired amateurs, who primarily expose and make a but of the local and contemporary social events. As the stories used to be based on semi-religious traditions from Indian epics nowadays they deal with, romances set in a bourgeois environment. In both cases it is about the perpetuation of the class differences between rich and poor.

Of course these folk media were also used, because their cultural flexibility was overestimated. When they are not preceded by adequate preparatory study, well-intended initiatives can often do more harm than good. According to Dissanayake (1977:123-124) numerous instances have been reported in India where the audiences were hostile and walked away during performances of folk plays whose content had been modernized and the structure tailored to suit modern messages. In concert with the artists, attempts were made to devise the appropriate ways of 'wrapping' the message into the performance, in such a way as to leave intact the form and style of the genre.

Orr (1974:79) offers the example of an inexperienced UNESCO worker. He thought it would be a good idea to make some minor changes in Rajasthani puppet theatre to make it more suitable for his purposes. Traditionally the puppets

do not speak. They make soft whistling sounds which indicate their supernatural origins. The puppets' faces are painted in a highly stylized way with brightly coloured patches that make the eyes stand out. This points to a supernatural origin. The UNESCO expert was surprised at the resistance of the narrators and puppeteers to what he saw as suggestions for very minor changes in the speech and colouring of the puppets.

However, successful examples are also worth mentioning. For example, in health care experiments have been made with the use of Indian street theatre, *terukkuttu*, in the interest of leprosy information campaigns. The information was of a highly generalized character in the rural districts of the Southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu. According to De Bruin (1989:77), it served as an addition to the general information on the symptoms of the disease, for example, in order to motivate the rural patients to apply for treatment at the earliest possible date. The unique feature of the experiment is the fact that an ancient local traditional form of popular theatre remains quite unaffected in its value.

Thus, it was not just the large land owners and development workers who took an interest in financing popular theatre groups. Apart from initiatives taken by land owners, government information services, the Ministry of Information and countless NGOs there is evidence of initiatives on the part of young groups of intellectuals, students of Brahmin middle-class descent, mostly, who feel compassion with the all to well displayed poverty in India. Claiborne (1983:51) mentions that there are a dozen street theatre companies in New Delhi, and the art form is burgeoning elsewhere in the country: some of them, like Marxist groups, are blatantly political, and others, like the groups formed by feminist organizations, concentrate on narrow issues such as dowry or the alarming increase in murders by burning young brides whose families fail to meet extortionists' demands for cash or property.

Theatre in the city: Lok Doot and Mobile Crèches

Lok Doot was initiated, after a number of experiments in 1976, as a mobile educative theatre unit. Lok Doot or, translated from Hindu, Messenger of the People, was originally meant primarily to motivate construction workers to partake in the activities of Mobile Crèches. Lok Doot's " (...) function is to serve as a means of communication with the communities of migrant construction workers among whom Mobile Crèches work" according to its leader, Swaminathan (1979:10). The group consisted of amateurs and enthusiastic staff members of Mobile Crèches. Once or twice a month the group visited the sites with a medley of sketches, folk songs and dances which served both as education and as entertainment.

The major part of the work done by Mobile Crèches was still concerned with its network of school/day-care centres in Delhi and Bombay. At the same time, according to Mina Swaminathan (1979:8), Lok Doot's director, the organization

also carried out experiments in several slum areas where children spent most of the day in the street while their mothers did construction jobs. Initially the educative efforts of Mobile Crèches took place in a context of child care. At the same time, through adult education and literacy classes the mothers were engaged in discussions on health care, child care and better nutrition. To this was added, at a later date, the objective of a better quality of life for all the family.

The various components of the educative programme are integrated. Literacy work is linked up to topical discussions on child and health care. "Sewing-cum-literacy classes are conducted for two hours in the afternoon. Which are meant for the benefit of young girls who are either school-going or school drop-outs or have never been to school" (Dighe 1980:6-7). Adult education programmes are linked up to parent-teacher meetings and specific mothers' meetings.

The more recent work of Lok Doot has to do with the construction workers' various age groups. Work is done with children up to twelve years of age, for whom folk stories are used. The story about two small brothers, the elder cheating and fooling the younger, time and again, was transposed to a market situation which all the children recognized. The two brothers now were stall holders and they had great fun pricing the goods while hampering one another in selling. "Working in twos the boys improvised small scenes based on haggling, bargaining, buying and selling, inspecting goods, asking questions, etc." (Swaminathan 1974:7).

The somewhat older group, between twelve and sixteen, integrated into a play the theme of decoits versus police officials. The subject has been spontaneously brought forward by the youngsters, because it was a recurrent theme in the romanticized films which they went to see whenever they could. These boys, all employed as casual construction workers, wanted to play the part of decoits. Therefore, the thugs were split up into two gangs fighting each other, to which the police had to put a stop.

> "At one improvisation session, a talented youth began to improvise and built up a wonderful portrait of a policeman, callous, brutal and casual, harassing and bullying the innocent and the guilty alike. It was a perfect piece of true-to-life observation" (Swaminathan 1974:8).

The youngsters identified themselves eagerly with heroes, villains and keepers of law and order and many of them died a beautiful stage death directly copied from film. Yet it was possible to manoeuvre these juveniles to a somewhat more balanced analysis of petty crime and a sort of awareness arose which reached beyond the original feeling of poetic justice.

Widows and orphans: chanceless women act out their living conditions

The oppression of women is strongly integrated within the Bengal culture, sustained by religious views from both Hinduism and Islam. Women live completely separated from men, and yet are completely controlled by them. They have their own women's home, hardly enjoy any education and are raised with only the household in mind. Especially the women's songs express their hopes for the future. Although it is said that women never sing, the opposite is true. Women do sing, at home and in the fields, but never in the presence of men.

Women's theatre is impossible in Bangladesh. In a culture which denies the women drama as well as dance because both expressions are associated with prostitution there is not much room for women's theatre. In the traditional *jatran* theatre only those women performed who were too poor to even lose their respect. In the audience's eyes they doubled as actress and brothel-inmate. Despite their popularity throughout the country, all layers of the population still look down upon *jatran* and film actresses. Women's theatre, even for an all-women audience, in the country would still be nothing more but a reflection of problems which the women themselves know down to every minute detail. The lyrics of their songs and the comments of the female audience do not leave any doubt about this.

The bulk of these songs are about marriage and the stain of the dowry. Mothers sing about the good marriage they wish for their daughters. For which, however, there is little hope. The texts are rather romantic and are full of metaphorical language in which the (matrimonial) boat stands for 'security, marriage and life'. "In the immeasurable water plane" which Bangladesh becomes during the rainy season, "I cannot go into the same boat as my love to reach firm ground, for my family cannot offer land, possessions, and therefore, no dowry". The lines bide a sad fatalism.

A Bengal girl has no say at all in the choice of her partner. He is selected by her parents who prefer somebody who is better of than they themselves. To get hold of that man of her parents' dreams the girl's family is supposed to bestow a dowry on the groom's family. A dowry used to consist of a dictated goods but nowadays this is converted into money. When the girl happens to be ugly because of her darker skin, then it is going to cost the family twice as much to 'retail' her.

This form of marrying-off has a number of very tangible consequences for a married woman. Often it happens that her parents cannot pay off the dowry within the time agreed upon. Setting aside infertility this is one of the most frequent reasons for a divorce. And after a divorce, or after the death of one's husband one is even worth less as a marriageable candidate. The family will have to pay more to marry off the daughter for a second time. Thus a growing number of women processing neither husband nor land arises. The oppression by their spouse is replaced by that of the labour market.

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In one of the scenes enacted by the women's association in Attigram, organized by PROSHIKA, it was shown how such a woman finds her way stating as a domestic servant of a wealthy landowner. The women from Attigram call it 'domestic slavery'. They are sexually abused by the men of the household, vilified, humiliated and swindled by the women. It is not without reason that many of them try to escape from this situation. The only way left open then is to become a 'road mender'.

In Attigram the women accepted a job in the construction of paths in the village. This is community work, issued by the town-council. In the eyes of the prominent villagers this 'unclean' work brings them down even further. Their last hope, if there still is one, to ever get remarried, is now completely gone. Suicide among these woman labourers is not uncommon. What is left over is a small group of independent, fully conscious women who firmly stand by each other.

One of the scenes showed how the women dig gutters alongside the roads, how they passed on the clay and how the overseer reacted when one of the women crocked up completely exhausted and was comforted by other women. When they were asked who their biggest oppressor was the women silently acted out the rape of one of their colleagues by the foreman of the dredging party.

The women from Attigram knew their own problems best. Their problem was organization without the oppressor's knowledge. For instance, they once rebelled against one of the foremen who wanted to pay the, three *taka* (30 cents) a day for their digging, whereas they were promised five. This communal action finally resulted in them receiving their money. But such a rebellion was precarious. In the country with its abundance of cheap labour forces, landowners use dismissal as a means of power against the poor.

NGO's and Theatre for Development

India and Bangladesh are harbouring a great many non-governmental organizations, each possessing its own particular objectives and target groups in development work. Some NGOs use theatre as an instrument of education, in view of its ancient powerful tradition in the area. Performing arts still flourish here, never failing to touch an emotional string with the audience.

Two essential organizations in Bangladesh which have been concerned specifically with theatre for development are PROSHIKA and Aranyak. In contrast to PROSHIKA the Aranyak animators addressed themselves specifically to the villages where experience in the organization of groups was still lacking. PROSHIKA aimed at organizing groups, and used theatre for that purpose, Aranyak aimed at having peasants make socially committed theatre, for which they needed to be organized. The most important purpose, therefore, was to convert each workshop into an instrument in the organization of labourers. Since the group-members addressed themselves to villages which were confronted with

this form of socio-cultural work for the first time, a great part of the available time was devoted to inspiring confidence.

Of course there are a number of limitations of Aranyak's work. Two weeks is too short a period to mould a number of people into an organization. The experience opens their eyes, but does not unite people. After the departure of the Aranyak animator, people are left in a vacuum which the landowners gratefully make use of. This gives food to underlying distrust of outside aid. In a number of cases the landowner payed the new theatre group to continue its work, but only about topics the landowner chose. The government, too, played this game. Thus groups arose which, for little money, propagated birth control or hygiene.

The Centre for Communication and Cultural Action (CCCA) was a result of the work done by Sareek in Bengal. Sareek is an agency whose task is to enhance the economic, agrarian as well as social development of rural districts by small teams of resource people. The teams are accommodated in the villages where, in collaboration with the villagers, they aim at developing agrarian skills, using appropriate technology and teaching styles. In order to extend the set of teaching styles more informal communication techniques were examined. CCCA was called into being with a view to supporting this experiment. Together with the local population it would generate plays carefully geared to the lives of the communities. These are generally performed by members of Sareek and CCCA touring the rural villages.

CCCA, whose home base is Calcutta, through the years has developed a more participatory style of working, in organizing training seminars and workshops, and to a certain extent also in urban activities. The main concern still is to promote development of group communication and to stimulate self-expression in group situations through low-cost media which the people themselves use and control and which enable them to create their own style of communication or adopt existing materials to their needs.

As a result, in 1981 a workshop was organized for animators and organizers from voluntary agencies; in 1982 a workshop on drama for social education was designed for young tribals in Bihar; and a workshop was held in Durgapur for grass-root level workers. Other workshops were organized in co-operation with the Workers Centre (Bangalore), the Joint Women's Programme and with the Indian FAO representative in Delhi. The latter one was not a real workshop, rather a modest festival of street theatre groups from Delhi, among which were Nishant, the Theatre Union and Samudaya.

Samudaya is a cultural organization operating in Karnataka. It started as a small theatre company in Bangalore, 1974, performing in the street. In five years the group had set up an organization of some twelve units all over Karnataka. Besides running theatrical activities, it set up film societies and started to publish books on a modest scale. Their theatre performances strive for a synthesis of music, song and drama.

Samudaya, judging its work to be aimed too much at urban audiences, in 1981 organized a procession (*jatha*) through the province. On this 4.000 kilometer journey through twelve of the nineteen districts in the state they stopped at villages to spend the night and to present their mixture of songs, music and short plays. These playlets are made by the group collectively. On entering the villages they sang songs and chanted lines from the famous poets of Karnataka, e.g. Pasavanna, the twelfth century anti-caste reformist. The short plays referred to historical events. *Belchi* was about the burning of harijan and agricultural labourers in Bihar, May 1977; *Chasmala* dealt with the tragic death of a group of miners in Dhanbad in 1977; *Pathre Sangappa* described the murder of a bonded harijan labourer by his master in Shimoga district. The performances were followed by discussion with the villagers.

Other attempts to reach the rural masses with theatre have been made, since 1981, by Cultural Forum, the department of communication of the Rural Development Advisory Service (RDAS). Influenced by the work of the organizations previously mentioned, it mainly concentrated on open air theatre with tribal groups, agricultural labourers and harijan, making extensive use of the folk songs and dances of these groups. In view of the previously depicted controversies among Indian population groups, uniting the interests of the different NGOs and/or theatre groups and theatre makers engaged in development work is evidently a hard thing to achieve.

Attempts to unite forces and interests into a compact network particularly have been made by setting up seminars and workshops. In Madhya Pradesh, 1977, the Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD) organized an Asian Rural Drama Session to bring together representative performers, writers, directors, community organizers etc. from Asian countries (Malik 1978:11). In spite of the participation of a group of performing artists forming the heart of the indigenous Naya theatre (a folk-cum-tribal drama group), this seminar was rendered a more international aspect by the representation of the Japanese Black Tent Theatre, the Philippine PETA and the Bangladeshi PROSHIKA, among others.

In 1982 in West Bengal a seminar was organized in collaboration with the Centre for Communication and Cultural Action (CCCA), the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) and the Central Institute of Theatre Arts in South-East Asia (CITASA). This seminar, too, above all was meant to symbolize international solidarity rather than to serve as a network of Indian educative and activating theatre.

Final remarks

South-East Asia contains a rich variety of different cultures. In India particularly, all Netherlands co-financing organizations pay attention to projects catering for indigenous and tribal groups, to help them preserve their identity and cultural

heritage. In addition, the Netherlands Organization for Development Cooperation (NOVIB) and the Catholic Organization for Joint Financing of Development Programmes (CEBEMO) have supported various theatre traditions in India, the traditional as well as the modern trends. In Dombivli (India) The Puppet group exerts itself to activate social action groups, with a view to utilizing the puppetry medium in support of their awareness-raising and educational programmes. During the mid-eighties, attempts were made for two years to develop and explore relevant social issues in such a way as to make them adaptable to puppetry.

In New Delhi (India) the Jagran pantomime group received NOVIB-support for developing a programme in the interest of community awareness building and development through pantomime. Support was chiefly intended for the use of pantomime to promote development-support communication. The same provisions were adopted in supporting the Progressive Friends Circle (PFC), in Mukhed (India), for the establishment of a folk artist training course. This recent project focused on a training of selected actors of traditional popular theatre, who might be able to make an educational contribution to social awareness training by running performances and opening a dialogue with the audience.

CEBEMO lends indirect support to the use of theatre in awareness-raising processes in India. The rural poor (peasants, landless labourers, slum dwellers) in the Madurai, Kamarajar and Anna districts in the state of Tamil Nadu are the target groups of an awareness-raising programme initiated by the Madurai Multipurpose Social Service (MMSS). They suffer many hardships, such as (hidden) unemployment, illiteracy and social oppression. In its programmes MMSS attempts to enable the people to take in their own hands the improvement of life conditions. It sets up awareness-raising, educational and organizational activities for this purpose. The MMSS covers different areas, such as health care, agriculture, and basic economic activities.

Cultural activities such as song, dance and theatre are integral parts of many of these programmes. Cultural expression is viewed as an effective means of enhancing the awareness and the development of the people. Cultural expression has a direct appeal, is understandable and has a playful manner of stimulating awareness of the situation and of the weight of cultural values. To enhance the impact of the cultural component, MMSS in recent years adopted a new approach offering more room for true participation of the population and ultimately achieving organization and mobilization.

The new approach is one of 'real' popular theatre, with the audience discussing problems and translating them into various forms of cultural expression. MMSS received a CEBEMO-contribution for the training of field-staff, animators and local leaders, and for recruiting artists needed to effectuate the approach.

Another organization receiving CEBEMO-support is Social Life Animation India (SOLAI). Its basic point of view is that in modern India many forms of

popular cultural expression tend to be neglected and marginalized by the over-emphasis on elitest cultural expression. A frequent effect of this cultural oppression is that the common people, in particular the poor, are bound to feel even more inferior than they did on the grounds of other circumstances. An awareness-raising process striving to highlight the dignity and the possibilities of the oppressed simply cannot ignore this popular culture.

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11.
Changing attitudes in 'women's affairs': performing arts as instruments for publicity

Until fairly lately the appearance of women on stage was considered a strange and even immoral or suspect phenomenon. In the literary drama traditions of Asian and European cultures female characters, indeed, were of secondary importance. Male characters and above all male heros were all the plays dealt with. Resistance from the women to this tendency sometimes resulted in authentic and early forms of women's theatre. In chapter six I depicted the origins of the Japanese Kabuki theatre which, I think, was a spontaneous form of women's theatre.

But as I already indicated these new developments in the performing arts were attended directly by social and political developments. In feudal society and certainly in the court-culture there was no place for actrices. In those days the popular counter-culture was less opposed to women on stage than the ruling clergy and nobility, both deciding that it was immoral to have women on stage. Only with the rise of the cities and subsequently of the commoners, craftsmen and merchants, and with the first beginnings of a modest industrial production process, slow but sure, and only there where cultural conventions allowed it, room was made for women to reappear on stage.

But even in Elizabethan England Shakespeare still wrote his famous parts for women to be rendered by boys and young men. I discussed this form of stage transvestism in chapter six which dealt with new and popular forms of theatre which sprang up in Japan, on Java and Ghana. This kind of stage transvestism by female impersonators was not all confined to the above-mentioned geographical locations and cultures. In Bengal in the middle of the last century a period of stage transvestism could be recognized, according to Raha (1978), in the rise of new urban forms of theatre. At the beginning of this century Phalke, the first Indian cinematographer, used his favourite actor to render women's parts.

As I stated elsewhere it is striking that where one could trace a change from one set of cultural values concerning the position of women to another set of norms and values, that the parts of women were still first performed by men. In their comments on social changes these transvestites could comment more explicitly on the measuring with two measures concerning women's matters than an actress. A woman on stage, certainly in cultures in which this is traditionally associated with a very low social status and with prostitution, was regarded much less credible than a man playing a woman, when 'she' wished to express herself on a changing moral.

But in 17th century Europe, when women finally were allowed to act, the subsequent enthusiasm tipped the balance the other way. According to Niemi

(1983:36) plays and scenarios were smothered with lyrical passages, the casts were given an abundance of extra female characters and the plays were completed with ballets by women and with intrigues of all sorts. In the 19th century the rising nationalism of several European countries asked for strong national theatrical traditions. Even if it had arisen from pure necessity, the image of the female labourer had become an integral part of the urban scene. And on stage female performers were not only accepted, but, with the rise of 'naturalism', their presence was even essential.

> "Before the 19th century had come to a close, great actrices has won remarkable influence on theatre in all (...) countries and has inspired many a young playwright. During 'naturalism', theatre helped to focus attention on many social problems. The status ascribed to women by society was, through theatre, the subject of general and sometimes heated debates. In connection with this no play evoked such passion as Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. When this work was published a hundred years ago, Nora's character stood at the centre of the big issue of these days: whether a woman was in a position to decide about her own life, duties and responsibilities" (Niemi 1983:36).

Whereas the first wave of emancipation was primarily a political battle to obtain equal rights for men and women which were to be recorded constitutionally and accepted internationally, the second wave devoted itself to the actual liberation of women in social traffic and everyday social intercourse. As a result of the political process of democratisation this post-war moment was continued not only in all kinds of social sectors in the North Atlantic world in the sixties, but also entered the activating and political theatre of the seventies.

Roleplay and socio-drama in Latin America[1]

Women who work with and for women in the Latin American context often are confronted with a self-image of women which, stated Mattelart (1984:17), is imposed on them as a matter of course by a dominant male-oriented ideology and which is spread by the media as something generally accepted. Despite all the political and social work in obtaining an equal status for man and woman, it is the stereotype image of woman spread by the press, by radio or television and by the lyrics of popular songs which seems to floor all these efforts. This does not only refer to the broadcasting of foreign series and thus also of foreign values and norms but also to the locally produced soap operas which in ideology and form are primarily aimed at a female audience and which are not a whit better than the foreign ones.

Most locally produced soap operas burden the listener or viewer with the personal and occasional problems of a young and beautiful woman, instead of placing the personal problems within a somewhat clear social context and thus

presenting the problems as a general societal phenomenon. According to Cuthbert (1984:19), the Jamaican soap opera *The Fortunes of Flora Lee* forms an exception to this. Flora Lee is a girl from the country who by working hard makes it to nurse. The story mainly emphasizes the problems Flora encounters when making a career. The difference between her social background and her new status places her for decisions concerning loyalty with respect to relatives and acquaintances in the country. By concentrating on Flora's wish for a career and the problems she thus encounters per part of the series, the author (a woman herself) was able to escape the too easy stereotypes.

In an environment in which women are daily confronted with images of women as they are projected by their environment, it is difficult for both the women and their female trainers to settle with these images. Yet for the time being the necessity remains of breaking through the self-images of women and femininity first before starting to work with a specific purpose in mind. Role play and socio-drama have proved to belong to the more successful methods. Deborah Barndt (n.d.) used to work with women in Canada and in Peru and tried to teach them to look into their own living - and working circumstances through a collective analysis of photo materials assembled by the group itself. Thus the target group pictured its own problems. This creative process to deepen their social analysis is called participatory with good reason. The analyses were transformed into socio-dramas which as it were became exercises for future collective actions. Besides, in Peru these materials were used for lessons in which women were taught how to read and write.

As introduction Barndt used Peru's Mother's Clubs which functioned as literacy classes. Barndt's approach, inspired by Paulo Freire's ideas, went as follows: First, she showed the women a series of pictures which referred to various kinds of social relations. From the reactions to the pictures a list was drawn up of possible social relations which the women experienced daily. Here Barndt took the line that what the women said in their own words also indicated an important kind of relationship for them. Later, the pictures were put into such a series that a plot, a story could be read into it. Subsequently this story was transformed into a play, a socio-drama, in which satire occupied an important place. Then these socio-dramas were video registered and the registrations were used in the follow-up discussions.

It is not really astonishing that among these local community housewives the family-ties took in a central position, including the associated problems as matrimonial fights, competition with relatives and problems in educating their rebellious adolescent children. Next to socio-dramas in which these problems were rendered there also were presentations which devoted more attention to economic relations such as the women experienced at the market from day to day. One scene took place near a market stall run by a *mestizo*. It was obvious that the merchant asked the Indian immigrant to much money for some purchase. The

women decided to repeat this scene about the buying-selling theme, but this time swapped roles.

From the beginning it seemed as if the poor Indian merchant was not going to make it. To underline this, one of the women from the audience climbed on to the stage during the play. She introduced herself as a municipality officer and asked for the Indian merchant's papers. This clearly revealed the awareness that the women did not feel that they were treated as second-rate villains because they were women but because they were Indians.

Other socio-dramas which had to do with authority-relations were found closer to home an in the women's daily experiences. Next to improvisations about how one was treated in public (e.g. during bus transport) improvisations also arose about women in relation to school and church officials. It was clear from the start that these officials were surrounded by sacrosanct aura, which the women did not like to penetrate. To enact a schoolmaster or a priest came, for the indigenous population, close to sacrilege. But because they were not concerned with enacting fictive events but rather with enacting actual happenings the women put aside their own barriers and finally did play the situations. The dramatizations reflected the social analysis of the women and provided them with discussion material concerning their association with 'authorities'.

One of these 'authorities' whom women in Latin America look up to are the ladies for whom they work full - or part time as domestic servants. In their work with Latin America women each social worker will be confronted with these domestic servants. In Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), therefore, they tried to prepare future *animadores* in socio-cultural work for their future clientele's reality through role play and socio-drama. The role plays concentrated on situations which they had to deal with in future. On the one hand this was a simulated visit of a future female domestic servant to her 'lady' which served to prepare the *animadores* for the family circumstances, social context and the problems they would be confronted with.

According to Hunter (1985:132) it is especially this latter simulation-game which was to confront the future *animadores* with the way the women from the *favelas* in their territory experience oppression, humiliation and above all the way their rights as employees are affected. Besides, these cases make that the future *animadores* pay attention to the possible courses of action to be undertaken by the Association of Domestic Employees against the violation of these rights.

A large family: old traditions and new strategies

Family planning in the Third World depicts the average North Atlantic family of four as the ideal 'model' family. Another term for family planning is 'responsible parenthood' and the responsibility for the decision is in the Western world regarded as one which husband and wife share.

In the fifties, during the reconstruction of Europe after World War II, town-planners, statisticians, and economists calculated that the world's food and energy stocks would in the long run not suffice the increasingly expansive world population. The population growth in the Third World was considerably bigger than that of the North Atlantic world. Therefore, particularly in the United States, many non-governmental aid organisations were founded which organised family-planning campaigns in less-developed countries with funds raised from trade and industry. In 1976 support of the United Nations was called for and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) was founded to carry out a world-wide family-planning campaign. Now funds came not only from trade and industry but also from a large number of national authorities.

In 1974, during the first world population-conference in Bukarest, the family-planning programmes appeared to have yielded hardly any concrete results. The distribution of free contraceptives did not as such result in a decrease of the birth-rate. As potential providers for their parents once these are older, children as for example in India are still considered an important investment for poor population groups (Naaraayan 1981:23). The high infant mortality left no choice but to have a considerable number of children.

These poor results led to an emphasis in new activities on the improvement of medical care for mother and child. Thus, better life-chances for young children and the improvement of the living conditions of women would then in the long run result in a decrease of the birth rate. Family planning guidance was still part of these activities. Initially, this development seemed favourable for women in the Third World. However, when civil servants interfered with the campaign on a national level, women fell victim to the health-care industry.

In return for a little money, women were easily persuaded into having themselves sterilised without really knowing what this meant. Despite criticism from UNICEF and West European donor agencies, US-AID in Bangladesh attached family-planning to supplying food. The Agency for International Development (AID), subsidised by funds of the World Bank, had an approach which consisted in a straightforward trading relationship with needy women in Bangladesh. The women were given food on condition that they had themselves sterilised (Nelson 1985:25). Cases are known from Latin America in which women were unwillingly sterilised after childbirth. In Brazil a private family-planning organisation fitted I.U.D.'s with Indian women and cut the cords to prevent removal. It is no coincidence that this should happen to Indian women. Population policy is by definition aimed at the poorest women in society. They will gladly accept the free contraceptives without receiving any information as to their physical consequences.

One of the problems inherent to family-planning arises from the culturally determined, traditional idea of masculinity, it is the man's fear of being regarded as sexually impotent. Women fear that infertility decreases their status in the eyes of men. Some cultures, for example the Yoruba (Nigeria) or Akan (Ghana) in

West-Africa, even stigmatise a childless woman as unhappy (Nketia 1972) and regard sterility as a punishment from the gods. These cultural dilemma's cause projects to focus on the improvement of healthcare for mother and child, rather than on birth-control.

Another problem, often underestimated according to Lucy Mair (1984:30), in family planning projects, is the endogenous views and customs that are related to family and kinship ties. Often family planning projects of a North Atlantic model implicitly assume that the progenitor will also take on the role of social father in raising the children. As we have seen in chapter seven with the Chewa, in a culture with a matrilinear system the woman's child is brought up by the male relatives of her own lineage, rather than by any possible relative who is introduced on the progenitor's side. Within his mother's lineage the child has not only his genealogical existence, but also his right of succession if the lineage owns any land. In such case the biological father, the begetter, will care less whether the woman he sleeps with has one or ten children, because he has no immediate responsibility, neither for raising the child, nor for providing for the child. As his potential heirs his sister's children are of importance there.

An example from Northern India shows which cultural factors can stand in the way of successful family planning. A major problem for the Indian government is the increase in population. According to Schramm (1971:17-20) some states in India have had an official family-planning policy since 1930 already. However, it poses problems in villages which have traditional lineage-systems. What happens to the lineage in a patrilinear society if you have no sons to inherit your property and position? Daughters get married to men from outside the village and need considerable dowries. Also, when you die and have no son, then there is no one to bury you according to Hindu standards since Hinduism attributes an important role to the son in the burial-ceremony of the father.

The importance of having at least one son causes couples who have only one or more daughters to give mother nature another chance. The men do so for religious as well as economic reasons. To the male heads of the family sons, because of their dependence of them and their land, are considered both as 'best' friends in village matters and as labourers during the busy season. Women prefer giving birth to sons because, in a society in which their status is insignificant as it is, they gain in respect for it from the husband's family with whom they move in as soon as they are married. By giving birth to a boy they can obtain a better social position. The fact that fewer children cost less money is of no or comparatively little influence in these traditional village communities.

Although attempts are continually made to involve the men into family planning projects, it remains rather difficult in an area where a local version of 'folk' Islam dominates the views on sexuality, the relationship between men and women and birth-control, among civil servants as well as among the local population. Duran (1979:27) relates how attempts were made in Comilla District (Bangladesh) to give arguments for birth-control by translating allusions in the Koran to this

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subject for the population. These are particularly the so-called Hadiths, i.e. statements allegedly by the prophet.

In communist China propaganda for family planning was part of the Cultural Revolution preached by Mao. Its aims were of course directly related to economic progress, and to the enhancement of the opportunities for the small family. The Party employed family planning as a modernization in service of the class-struggle. Another more basic aim, however, was to break with the old traditional cultural values, the old ideology, and the old moral standards of Confucius and Mencius with regard to family ties. Family Planning aimed at the replacement of old, accepted, feudal standards with regard to marriage, children, education and social values in rural areas. Not because these traditional values were in themselves objectionable but because they preserved economic inequality and feudal relations between landlords and tenants and formed a barrier to the State's policy. They supported a rural elite and thus had a counter-revolutionary effect.

Venereal diseases

Again and again it were the health care centres that were confronted with patients who looked up to the medical science and its specialists and experts, who spoke a language of their own and who decided what was good for the patient. "Health care (or rather medical care) became the prerogative of the expert. It was 'delivered' to passive patients, who were expected to be active at most in following the expert's specific instructions" (De Kadt 1983:11). What the medical expert did not take into account was that his patient too, was a 'decision maker', as well as he himself.

During the 19th century medical research was primarily concerned with the growth of the bacilli that caused infective diseases. The conjunction with the rising chemical and pharmaceutical industry to fight large scale epidemics had become, through immunization, a preventive fight.

As early as 1938 in the United States Living Newspapers experimented with information about syphilis by way of the theatre. The show introduced to the audience, among other things, the consequences of syphilis, the importance of blood tests, and the institution of the Marriage Test Law, in accordance with which the spouses-to-be were to prove that they were uninfected. Living Newspapers was, according to O'Connor (1977:92), one of the most successful production branches in the United States of the Federal Theatre Project (1935-1939):

> "Across the nation, tens of thousands of citizens saw various 'editions' of these topical dramas. They were exciting theatre and effective documentary. They experimented with such stage devices as levels, masks, lighting, projection and a loudspeaker, and they enlivened the 'reporting' of actual

truth through episodic scenes that were sometimes realistic, sometimes expressionistic".

Spirochete, by Arnold Sundgaard, showed the history of syphilis. The production of this play was part of a campaign for the fight against syphilis, and was supported on a local level by all kinds of medical facilities and health care groups. The play opened with a scene set in the Marriage License Bureau, where a radio announcer tells us about a young couple that refuses the Marriage Test Law. Tactfully he discusses the benefits of the test. After this prologue the first act is about the early history of syphilis, and about the accepted 'myth' that the disease was brought back from the New World, where it was widespread among the local population, to spread rapidly throughout the 'decadent' Old World, and to find its way back to the New World with the waves of immigrants. The first act ends with the isolation of the spiral germ, spirochete, in 1905.

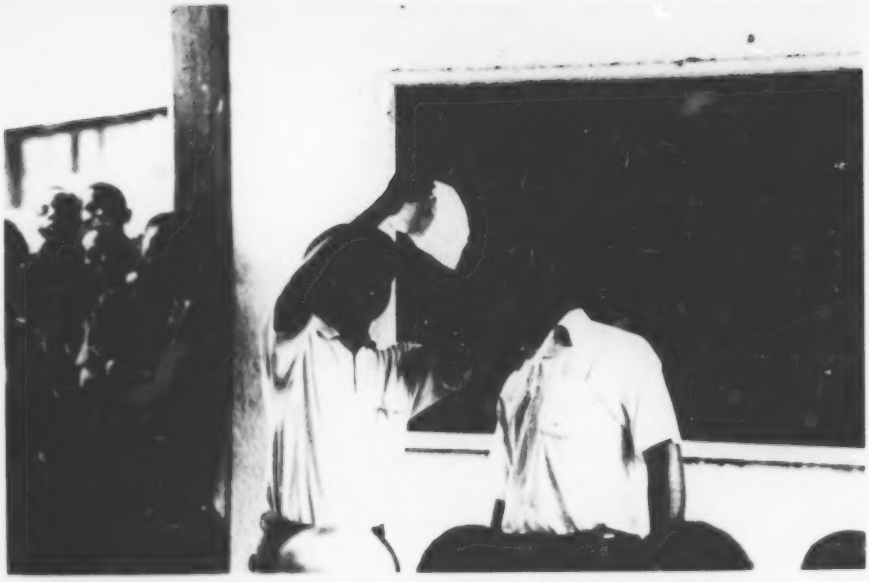
Then follows a brief explanation of the things that can be traced by blood tests, and what that means for the prevention of the disease. Also an explanation is given of the methods of treating the disease. The acts and scenes are visually attractive, and are presented in an accommodating and human way. Real-life stories are interwoven into the scenes, in order to make the occurrence of the disease as such excusable in a convincing way. They give an idea of the costs that have to be made to cure the disease, as compared with the relatively low costs to prevent it. They show how contamination can take place, how the disease can slumber latently, how the disease becomes transmissible. And finally the audience is informed that the disease is fatal in its last stage.

Development supporting theatre in times of AIDS

"Give an audience a lecture and they will listen. Give an audience some theatre and they will participate. This observation" (following McIvor (1990:29) "has been established among community theatre groups throughout the globe for quite some time but it is only in the last few years that ministries and agencies in Zimbabwe seeking to promote better health, literacy, and social awareness have come to this realization".

These community theatre groups in Zimbabwe try to make the general audience aware about the problem of how to handle physical disabled persons within the community as well as how to handle other outcasts within society. These groups are also active in preventive healthcare information campaigns on for example venereal diseases and Acquired Immunes Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), called by the Western African prostitutes the Acquired Income Deficiency Syndrome.

About AIDS in Africa there are a lot of speculative figures. However, they all are as hard as can be. Following Gortzak (1992:7) in Africa there are 120.000 registrated AIDS patients. More than 6 million people are sero-positive (HIV



Theatre for Development dealing with AIDS prevention in Tanzania

Photos: Teun Visser

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infected). And in 1994 two million people will have died on this fast spreading disease. And it is hard to call a halt to this development. One of the reasons for this still is the taboo on talking about sex.

Talking within the limits of normal social conventions in Africa those men who are not having sex regularly are not normal; in short, are no 'real men'. 'Talking about sex' in Africa is something people (men as well as women) are not used to. "Sex is penetration. Hugging is suspicious, something typically Western"[4]. However, in times of AIDS people tend to be prepared to think about these subjects differently. Although it still turns out to be very hard to persuade men as well as women to use contraceptives, especially condoms. In particularly prostitutes who have to survive on sex the argument of using condoms does not exist.

Partly this has to do with culture and history. According to Gortzak (1992:7) in the African rural areas still ideas about potency, off spring and fertility are issues villagers do not talk about easily. However, these issues are of great importance in their worldview and their belief system. Traditionally speaking lifelong monogamy never has been a strong cultural issue in Africa. The wifes of deceased husbands would return home to live with her brothers or would move in with her husband's brother's household. However, in the past only those in power (the rich and well-to-do) could afford polygamy. So, polygamy was practised by a very small elite.

During colonial rule with forced labour in the mines far away from home and later by forced migration due to the worsening situation of the labour market men left their household for quite some time and during their absence would live with another woman. After some months or even a year these men would return home bringing along any venereal infections they picked up during their stay at the mines or the construction works.

Because of the explosive situation several foreign NGOs and sponsors are trying together with the African governmental agencies to change this situation by at least raising some awareness about AIDS and its causes and symptoms. Some of these agencies in their extension work use theatre and other performing arts to at least inform people.

In Zimbabwe the formentioned ZIMFEP theatre coordinator Ngugi wa Mirii started AIDS awareness theatre realised by the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT). Their play on AIDS was called *Manyanya* ('It's too much'). It is a theatrical production which combines drama, humour, music, song and dance. The play revolves around the sexual behaviour of the central character: a factory manager. It unfolds a pattern of how he contracted sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and eventually AIDS. The drama focuses on how his wife, the teacher and many other people contracted either STD or AIDS through their sexual partners. Thus, the play mainly focuses on those with an eventual steady partner.

The play also dramatically reveals the struggle to look for a cure and the reaction of members of the family as well as the main character's workmates after they learnt that he has AIDS. By doing this ZACT was able to set the play in both an urban as well as a rural setting of Zimbabwe. In this way it cuts across the social strata of society touching on the lives of the young, old, rich and poor alike. The impact of the play is strengthened by the use of songs and dances deeply rooted in the various cultures of Zimbabwe.

In the cultures more to the South, like the culture of the Xhosa in South Africa local health workers - being Xhosa themselves - are not really accepted to discuss sexuality in the open. *Puppets against AIDS* is a theatre programme trying to bring some relief in this area of preventive health care. The programme is an initiative of the African Research and Educational Puppetry Programme (AREPP) founded in 1987. AREPP is a non-profit educational trust based in Johannesburg. Its main objective is to provide educational puppet theatre and training workshops in the Southern African region, concerning issues related to the environment and the physical well-being of the communities in the area.

Contrary to the use of Xhosa health workers the puppet programme has the license to speak openly in public places, and to reach masses without being offensive. Two versions of the performance have been offered so far. The first version featured two-metre high puppets, with the human animator inside of the puppet. Currently smaller glove puppets are used, since this makes the show more portable and requires a single puppeteer, a narrator and a technician, thereby decreasing the costs.

The puppets are grey in colour, in order to eliminate any racial associations with the disease, which can occur in any racial group. The story is related to the local language by the narrator, while music, either live or recorded, provides a background. Performances are followed by a condom demonstration, question-and-answer sessions and the distribution of condoms and illustrated 'AIDS talk' comic brochures in the local language.

More to the North, in Zambia, various groups have worked in the field of preventive health care, especially AIDS prevention. In the Western province a project was started sponsored by Dutch government money and elaborately described by Determeyer (1992). In this area the Zambian government and various Missionary organisations in collaboration with a network of eleven hospitals, ninety three health care centres and twohundred community health workers units started experimenting to use community theatre in disseminating AIDS preventing information.

Final remarks

The second wave of emancipation had already begun to develop in Europe and North America during the late sixties, and rapidly spread to the Third World, also because of international organizations allied to the UN. Separate funds and

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projects for development were set up especially in those social sectors within which women of old had a say, or had acquired a new role. This resulted in proclaiming 1975 to International Women's Year and 1975-1985 to the Decade for Women which was concluded in Nairobi in 1985 in grand style.

Two UN-organizations, UNICEF and UNFPA, have had a special interest in women since the fifties, especially in their role as mother or future mother. UNFPA, which was chiefly concerned with questions of population, had a special interest in women regarding birth-control. UNICEF was engaged in better chances in life for children and gave attention to nursing, mother-and-child care and children's nutrition. But, UNICEF, following its philosophy of 'responsible parenthood' was also engaged in birth-control and family planning.

At the end of the forties we could witness the rise of the first rural community development projects. These projects were based on the notion that it is impossible to develop people if they do not partake in their own development. Thus the first self-help programmes in the country arose during the late fifties. However, the bulk of these projects was aimed at the men in communities.

IPPF (1972) regards the idealistic and fully dedicated professional puppeteer as the ideal man to perform for the purpose of integrating birth control. However, should the professional lack an idealistic approach to national development and should he be too much restricted by the traditions and conventions of his craft, then the work would have to be done by idealistic amateurs.

The follow-up is very important. For instance, the performance will be ineffective if no contraceptives are available for handing out, if there are no consultants in the area, and if there is no clinic in the vicinity. Mostly, family-planning is part of a educational programme including also reading, writing, and arithmetic. Local midwives, because of their native, traditional knowledge and skills in matters of birth, sexuality and contraception are looked upon as authorities in the field and can be useful co-promoters of birth-control.

If theatre is to be used for persuasive purposes of this kind it needs to meet certain requirements. First of all, solo-performers are preferable, because the individual is more easily persuaded or convinced than a group of people. Secondly, a genre without ritual connotations which is sufficiently secularized serves the purpose best. Thirdly, the genre needs to have a tradition of offering scope for improvisation. Fourthly, and this applies particularly in relation to delicate matters such as birth-control, the burlesque or lyrical genre, the comedy or love ballad are to be preferred. Finally 'hiding-techniques' (puppets or masks) appear to facilitate the 'character's' dialogue with the audience.

The various forms of theatre differ in the skills demanded from the actors. Some demand highly developed theatrical skills and therefore need professionally trained actors. Others involve amateurs and local musicians. Requirements with respect to costumes and properties vary correspondingly from extravagant costumes or masks, to the use of the village itself as the setting and the human voice as the only instrument. Solo performers such as bards, puppeteers and

minstrels have only their musical instruments or puppets to carry about but as soon as travelling bands or groups start to form logistic problems develop.

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Part III

Education and Training

12.
Curricula, credits and certificates: formalizing expressive skill training in performing arts

There are two aspects to education, according to H'Doubler (1957:61-62): one, the capacity to take in, to become impressed; the other, the capacity to give out, to express. To receive impressions by our senses informs the mind. But to express its reactions to these impressions requires co-ordination and co-operation of all the mental powers. Mere perception and comprehension of knowledge are not sufficient for the fullest development of body and mind.

Training, as Schechner (1985:255) puts it, is a three-stage process of separation, deconstruction and reconstruction. Skill training in the performing arts always has a highly physical component. Training the body and mastering techniques are two sides of the same picture. This idea is present in the exercises which are part of the training when it comes to dance, music and mime, but also in the training of performers who tend towards literary theatre. This training takes place in social isolation. In that way the apprentice is taught to deconstruct short performance sequences into their smallest parts. He learns to interpret and imitate attitudes, positions, sounds, rhythms, gestures, and focusing. Later these pieces are reconstructed into the original sequence now mastered.

Technique training is the first stage in the learning process. The techniques should be controlled so well that they will not prove a problem later during the performance. That is to say that in the beginning the technique will prove a hindrance in self expression, but eventually -when there is complete control- will give the performer a lot of freedom, the techniques being no more than a means (faultlessly applied) for expression.

Learning the 'score' of a performance is really the same as mastering the 'soul' of a technique such as it manifests itself in the performance. The 'score' deals with everything which makes the performance into a performance, and what usually cannot be described by critics unless in metaphorical adjectives. It is that which cannot be written down in handbooks, or books on directing, precisely because of the fact that a performance cannot be recalled: every time it is a once-only, unique and shared experience. The 'score', therefore, deals with learning how to deliver a high quality performance within the (style) conventions of the genre.

Of course all this relates to the development of stage-presence, learning to manifest oneself within the 'score' of the performance. In most Euro-American training programmes this is the primary function of the performer's training, in which even the control of techniques plays a minor part. According to this tradition, the myth that 'talent' is born, not achieved, is still valued. But, as I

mentioned earlier, the performer's training as regards traditional genres has as a starting point the fact that self-expression does not come into play until a very late stage of the craftsmanship. Versatility in stage-manifestation is not aimed at here; of primary importance is sublimity in one particular aspect.

Instead of the young generation of apprentices trying their hands at improvisations, workshops and rehearsals to experiment and expand their experiences, it is only given to the masters to arrive at personal interpretations within the stage conventions of the genre. An apprentice who is learning to play Noh, for instance, must first learn to portray 'normal' human characters. Only later, at a more mature age, he may try his hand at the divine characters, and only very late in life is he allowed to learn playing demonic characters. 'There is a time for everything', clearly seems to be a motto here in the learning process.

That is why the learning process and the training programmes are experienced as a path of life which master and apprentice share. As Schechner (1985:240-241) justly remarks, the activity of teaching is not looked down upon here. A master enjoys huge respect, teaching is a privilege:

> "In Euro-American culture teaching is often looked down on. 'Those who can't do, teach.' But in India, Japan, Bali -elsewhere too-, 'Those who do it best, teach.' Teaching is the crowning achievement of the artist."

In order to realize this common path of life of master and apprentice, the ties between them must be very strong, on stage as well as off stage. Master and apprentice often perform together in an ensemble. Usually master and apprentice are related. If not, their relationship is characterized by pseudo-family relationships. In a pedagogical sense, the master is the apprentice's 'father'.

Because of this continuing proximity between master and apprentice, the latter is not given the opportunity to arrive at a personal interpretation of a dance, a composition, or a role until a fairly late stage of his artistic career, because this is pre-eminently the right of the master.

The aim is not to get the apprentice to imitate his master perfectly. On the contrary, the most important point in the learning process is the performer's own development. In principle, there is no connection between training and performance. Often performers train and rehearse separately to meet again at the time of the performance. The stricter the performance conventions, the clearer it is for the performer what is expected of him on stage.

Finally the master will transmit some performance 'secrets' to his apprentice(s). This is obvious when it comes to performance genres which have a clearly religious or social function, such as Noh performances in Japan, or the dance therapies of the Sarwa, or 'Bushmen', in Botswana. In some genres which are beneficial to an individual or the community, having curing and exorcising powers, these 'secrets' are a very delicate matter. The puppeteers *(dalang)* in Java (Indonesia) have secrets which consist in esoteric knowledge of wayang

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puppeteering. Sometimes, for instance in Noh theatre, secrets are passed down from father to son. The existence of performance secrets indicates that the knowledge about the performance brings power; the performance is more than entertainment.

In the Euro-American communities, where the performing arts do not have a strong relationship with prevalent religious world views, the opposite takes place to what happens in the South and the East, according to Schechner (1985:234). Here masters transmit their secrets in the public atmosphere of classes, demonstrations and workshops, which are frequently reported on by the media. And if a master puts his secrets on paper, these books are made accessible to all by publishers and libraries.

Formalizing the training of puppeteers in Japan and Indonesia

Through the ages puppeteering has had three functions: an entertaining function, an informing function, and an educative function. These three functions are usually closely interrelated in the message put across by means of the puppetshow. In most North Atlantic countries, puppetshows are meant for children. In many non-western countries, however, the target audience tends to consist of grown-ups.

In the majority of non-western countries, the puppet-show has become fixed as a tradition in the local culture. Traditionally puppeteers went through a period of apprenticeship. The training from apprentice to master took place within the family. The craft was transmitted from father to son, or from uncle to nephew. This traditional apprenticeship often took many years.

In the training of puppeteers we see the training slowly being formalized. The puppeteer in Egypt, for instance, is taught in the traditional way, by apprenticeship learning (informal education). In India the Department of Information and Broadcasting organizes short practical refresher courses (non-formal education). Finally, in Indonesia part of the puppeteer training has been completely institutionalized as a form of fine art teaching (formal education): the puppeteer goes to school for a number of years, and if he does so successfully, he gets a certificate.

To illustrate this, I would like to discuss at greater length the training of a classic performance genre in Japan, Bunraku, which is a puppetshow tradition in Japan over three hundred years old. There are three striking elements in a Bunraku performer's training: learning to recite songs, to play musical instruments, and to operate the puppets. These three elements reach a perfect synchronization in performance.

Learning the songs and the accompaniment is done by means of scores, but in the training of the skills to operate the puppets there is no ready-made method of tuition, according to Miyake (1965:477). The learning process takes place by

gathering experience over the years. It takes at least ten years to master puppet operation. The training, therefore, starts when the pupil is in his teens.

The Bunraku puppet has a height of about one metre, and it takes three people to manipulate it. The first two years are spent learning by heart the most important sections of the texts to be recited. During the same time an insight is gained into the areas of the stage. After that the pupil learns techniques of the feet and legs. The impossible bends in the posture of the puppet operator's makes clear why teenagers have to start with this. It is a terribly fatiguing position, for which agility is essential.

Learning to operate the feet and legs of the puppet takes three to four years. Then the manipulation of the puppet's left arm and hand are trained. After that the pupil is a 'left operator'. Three years later the training starts of operating the head, body, the right arm and hand of the puppet. After another three years the pupil acquires the dignity of independent puppeteer. This means that the training of a professional puppeteer takes some ten years.

From that moment on his artistic development hinges on the trainee's natural talent. But according to Miyake (1965:478) it takes at least another ten years to acquire anything like an outstanding skill. Generally the Bunraku puppeteer does not get the title of 'master operator' until he is well over sixty.

Unfortunately, during the sixties Bunraku puppeteers were hardly paid enough to make a living. This made it very difficult to find young people who were prepared to undertake the training. Towards the end of the sixties the government provided funds to ensure the trainers and trainees a minimum standard of living. A kind of training institute was started where Bunraku experts gave lectures and classes for young chanters, musicians and puppet operators.

Educational appliances, such as scores for chanters and musicians, are to be found here. Puppeteers do not have these. Their training schedule or curriculum can only be developed by practical experience, especially as Bunraku puppeteer training aims at a manipulation technique which makes the puppets' movements and gestures 'true to life'.

Historically speaking, the process of formalizing learning processes in the performing arts is illustrated particularly well with puppeteer training for the *wayang kulit* genre in Java (Indonesia). Before the twenties, in and around the town of Surakarta there were two types of traditions within the *wayang kulit* puppetshow genre: one could be found in the rural areas (popular tradition) and the other could be found in the centres of the aristocracy (court tradition). According to Arps (1985:30), all puppeteers *(dalang)*, including those who performed at the courts, came from the rural areas. That was where they had been trained in their art.

An interested child -usually somehow associated to the puppeteer- was apprenticed to an accomplished master. There he started learning performance techniques, such as manipulation techniques, voice control, recitation, and

musical accompaniment. This training aimed at accomplishing control and co-ordination of the complicated motorial skills, in order to apply these skills simultaneously when performing. A *dalang*'s children were really in the most advantageous position to learn the art, because practise makes perfect. A *dalang*'s child, more than other children, gets plenty of opportunities to practise with the required material, and to ask for the expert's corrections.

According to Arps (1985:30), the aspiring puppeteer starts off practising duels. These are followed by the more elaborate fighting scenes. After some time the pupil is ready to combine these manipulation segments into a fully elaborated fighting sequence, including dialogue and recitative. Once the pupil is able to present such a fighting scene between a knight and one or more demons, other manipulation patterns should present no problem: most movement sequences in puppetshows are stereotypes. At best the puppeteer to be is to make a choice from the various alternatives.

After the student has learnt these basic techniques in the family circle, he is apprenticed to an older *dalang*, whose performances have impressed him (Clara van Groenendael 1982:40). This is called *nyantrik*, derived from the word *cantrik*, pupil or disciple.

> "He joins this dhalang and assists him in performances by putting the puppets ready for use, and putting them away afterwards, or by playing in the gamelan. He is given the opportunity to be present at discussions among dhalangs and other experts on performances and dhalangs. He is allowed to give more or less complete performances in the afternoon. His teacher will provide him with comments and examples. Now and then he initiates his pupil in his theoretical ideas, in magical formulas, and other such things. He lends him his *pakems*, written summaries of *lakons*, so that they can be copied. Thanks to the *nyantrik* an inexperienced dhalang becomes familiar with his teacher's style of performance, and at the same time he acquires the more esoteric knowledge. A young dhalang is usually apprenticed to more than one dhalang, and in that way, he can study different personal styles and ideas. At a certain point, a dhalang is allowed to take his teacher's place in performances at night. Finally he can perform independently. At this point he has no longer to feel the need to conform to any teacher's style, but is allowed to pursue his own ideas. A dhalang aims at developing his own style. Outside the *nyantrik* pattern, slavishly imitating striking characteristics is frowned upon" (Arps 1985:31).

During the twenties the Surakarta and Yogyakarta courts began organizing and formalizing puppeteer training. The goal of this kind of education was to upgrade the puppeteers who come from the rural areas by making them familiar with the standards of the puppetshow tradition at court. Ideas and conventions of the popular tradition were transformed to strict rules by the courts (Arps 1985:34).

Drawing this kind of rules led to, for instance, a standard division of the performance into scenes. Raising the quality of wayang theatre and increasing the repertoire of stories outside court circles were of secondary importance.

These courses, such as those organized by the Dalang School of the Mangkunagaran (Pasinaon Dalanging Mangku Nagaron; PDMN) in Surakarta were very popular with the rural *dalang*. In some areas it led to a spontaneous spin-off of training activities. *Dalang* who had just finished their courses at court, started their own courses in the rural areas in order to pass on the new knowledge and skills to their colleagues. After World War II, when courses had been temporarily stopped, the supply of courses was made open to a wider public: puppeteers and puppetshow *aficionados*.

The result of these courses was the fact that the court puppetshow conventions reached the rural areas. Even the puppeteers who had not personally done a course at court were inevitably confronted with these conventions. A certain extent of uniformity and homogeneity were the result of this educational intervention. That is not to say that all new knowledge and skills were slavishly absorbed. The aforementioned apprenticeship learning *(nyantrik)* did not allow that. Imitation was selective.

After the Indonesian independence, two more training facilities for puppeteers were started, apart from the court courses. In Surakarta this was a secondary school and an academy of the performing arts *(karawitan)*, respectively named SMKI (Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia), and ASKI (Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia). Both state schools provide training in dance, gamelan music and wayang puppet manipulation.

ASKI is open only to pupils who have a secondary school certificate. ASKI draws children who have finished SMKI as well as young grown-ups from *dalang* families in the rural areas around Surakarta. ASKI does not teach the art of puppeteering according to one court view. It does, however, use court manuscripts. But popular as well as court *dalang* traditions are dealt with in this academy.

It is striking, however, that this school hardly pays any attention to wayang theatre as a mystic-philosophical, educative or entertaining medium. The training is aimed exclusively at developing specifically artistic qualities in the puppeteers-to-be. Therefore, this class education has no interest in the transmission of performance 'secrets', such as the *dalang*'s esoteric knowledge.

The PDMN-course, connected to the Surakarta court, does pay attention to this. There is less emphasis on class teaching, as this clashes with the principle of the transmission of 'performance secrets'. But the principles and the details as regards magical formulas and the mystic-philosophical meanings of wayang are dealt with in class, in the hope that the student will finish his *nyantrik* period with an initiation into this special knowledge.

According to Arps (1985:50), training institutes such as ASKI and PDMN do not only prepare pupils for a *dalang* career. They also produce very able wayang

critics. ASKI graduates often end up as civil servants at a regional office of the Ministry of Education and Culture or at other cultural bodies. Their background usually ensures their structural support of wayang initiatives, which increases the interest in wayang in such an area.

Then there is the Indonesia Institute of the Arts Yogyakarta (Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta; ISI) given university status in 1984 and providing quite an elaborate curriculum in Arts and Fine Arts at the faculties of 'performing arts' and 'art and design' and a non-degree programme in performing arts training professional dance, drama and music performers.

The goal of ISI Yogyakarta is to foster the development of the students towards a well-rounded, creative and skilful professional artist who possesses a scientific attitude and competency, as well as an awareness of the development of national art and culture. ISI Yokyakarta attempts to organize teaching activities, to do research in the area of art and culture - pure as well as applied - and to serve the community within the framework of the National Development Programme. Therefore, aside from its main task of preparing future artists of Indonesia, ISI is eager to do research on various aspects of traditional art of Indonesia, such as the social function of art in traditional society, the possibility of carrying out traditional arts in modern Indonesian society, and on the more contemporary level of instilling art appreciation in the community.

Tradition and the schooling system: Thai classical dance drama

There are three departments in the Ministry of education of Thailand which are directly responsible for cultural promotion: Office of the National Culture Commission, Department of Fine Arts and the Department of Religious Affairs, respectively dealing with developing Thailand's cultural policies, with preserving, promoting and disseminating national arts and culture and with promoting religious activities of all denominations in Thailand.

Since 1975 the Department of Fine arts has been presenting to the public various kinds of performing arts ranging from the extremely rich Thai theatrical arts: the masked play, classical dance dramas and Thai folk dances, to musical performances representing the varied cultural heritage from the different parts of the country. Occasionally the Music and Drama Division of the Fine Arts Department produces special programmes of traditional and contemporary music and drama for the public.

Classical Thai dance training, including the Lakon Nai genre, is taught at a regular and government supported drama school. In 1947 the Department of Fine Arts founded an Academy of Dramatic Arts in Bangkok. In 1971 an similar school was founded in Cheng Mai. Both academies provide a basic and an advanced training. They are open to 'talented' students who have successfully finished their primary education.

At the academy, students receive general secondary education and a classical theatre dance training, or a classical music or drama training. In the curriculum the performing arts training gets most attention. According to Van Lamoen (1988:33), on schooldays dance training is given between nine and twelve o'clock in the morning, when boys as well as girls are taught, in separate classes.

As the dance repertory consists in narrative ballets, it is decided, right at the beginning of the training, which dramatic character the pupil will later play. From that moment on, the training is keyed to the dance style that belongs to the character. For the boys this means, for instance, that they tend to be selected for the role of a monkey (of great importance in Ramayana interpretations) or the role of a man. Heroic roles, such as princes, need a training of more refined dance techniques. The girls, too, are divided among different teachers, according to the type of dance they will perform. At this stage a distinction is made between the girls who will dance male roles on the one hand, and the girls who will dance female roles on the other hand.

Basic training is the same for all girls and implies learning, successively, an elementary feeling for rhythm, the right basic bearing, and placing the limbs. The teacher indicates the rhythm, which is sung along by the pupils and accompanied with a percussion instrument. First, basic movements are learnt to a slow rhythm. After that movement sequences are learnt, such as the many ways of greeting, and the correct forms of sitting down and slowly rising. Only later the fast rhythms are practised.

Regularly the teacher demonstrates the correct movements. He also works on the pupils' physical ability by having them repeatedly bend their fingers and twist their legs. Only after that comes the stage of learning the Thai dance 'vocabulary', or meaningful movements, poses and movement sequences. There are two 'vocabularies', which were once defined by the nobility at the Thai court in dance dramaturgic treatises. We are dealing here with inventories of Thai dance as they have been passed on from generation to generation from the time of the Ayudhya, in the fourteenth century.

Only those pupils that the teacher expects to be equal to the art, mentally and physically, are allowed to go on to an advanced course, in which particularly the positions of the hand *(mudras)* are learnt, the ritual symbolism of these positions are explained, and the dramatic characters are further developed for solo work. At this stage any form of personal interpretation is prohibited.

Finally there is the possibility of specializing in 'sacred' dances. Here the dancers learn to play divine or demonic characters. They learn to accompany themselves with chants while the teacher plays the rhythm on the temple instruments *par excellence*, the cymbals. It is at this stage that the master passes on his 'secrets'. These are dances which the pupil learns exclusively for herself. They will never be performed in public. If the pupil has gone through this stage as well, at least eleven years have passed, during which she has worked on the refinement of courtly gestures and the development of dance characters.

Until the early thirties all these classical dance forms were protected by the king and court. According to Van Lamoen (1988:44), the dance groups were privately trained and accommodated, and performances were exclusively given at the court or at aristocratic houses. During the reign of King Rama VI (1910-1925) this court dance art had its last highlight point. When the world-wide economic crisis broke out, the government made cuts in the national royal budgets. Part of the dance potential was disposed of.

In 1932 Royal power was changed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. The Institute for Dance and Music, left the court and was housed by the Department of Fine Arts. In this way the exclusive court dance drama was made into a public performing art. In the dry season there would be performances for a wide public in the Silpakorn theatre.

Because of the low wages, enthusiasm for the dance training waned quickly. Towards the end of World War II there were only a handful of classical dancers active in the Department of Fine Arts. Partly thanks to the Royal Family's cultural interest, an official academy was founded shortly after the war, for the training of the classical performing arts. A well-considered adaption of the dances was necessary if the public were to be won. Neither the Thai nor the foreign public was familiar with the refined and stylized fashion in which the stories were presented in dance.

Despite all kinds of modernization trends, the trainers adhere to a number of elements from traditional training and transmission. For instance, according to Van Lamoen (1988:48) the classical Thai dancer is obliged to undergo an initiation ritual and regularly to pay homage to living and dead dance masters. These rituals proceed according to regulations which have been put to paper by Rama IV (1851-1868). Both rituals take place on the first Thursday of June, which is briefly called 'Teachers' Day'.

Initiation of the apprentice has strict rules. For the first time the pupil is now shown the dramatic interpretation of characters in a demonstration given by the master, who displays part of his artistic secrets. Even today initiation has a strongly ritual character, and cannot be seen only as the pupil's commitment to his art, but also as his or her commitment to the principles of the religious world view from which the dance takes its deeper meaning.

This does not strike Van Lamoen (1988:57) as odd, in a country where Thai every day life is saturated with the Theravada Buddhist view of life, in which the worship of gods, king and ancestors plays an important role.

The training system in Chinese theatre

In the People's Republic of China, to see people practice Tai-chi exercises in public parks and gardens, as well as on the pavement right next to busy traffic, is not unusual. A series of slow movements, in which the arms move through the air with counter energy, and in which the weight of the body is transferred from

one leg to the other in perfect balance. It appears as if space is explored through hands and feet.

At primary schools, eye-gymnastics, in which the fingertips carry out massage movements around the closed eyes, is taught as a way of concentration. In addition, at these schools, the basis for affinity with theatre is built through education in music, singing, acting, and dancing. This is by no means free expression. On the contrary, the child strictly imitates the songs and movements the teacher demonstrates. And they are enjoying it too. So, primary education lays the foundation for the extraordinary accomplishments of Chinese artists. Each province in China has a school of music, a theatre school, or a training programme for Peking opera.

The so-called Peking opera, in which besides singing, acting, and dancing, a lot of acrobatics can be admired, is more an indication of style than a geographical one. It is not only encountered in Peking, but in any randomly chosen Chinese province. The performances are usually extremely lively. This is, for a large part, due to the fact that the audience keeps on talking throughout the performance. The style is often described as not-realistic. It is better, in this context, to speak of anti-naturalistic. An actress who wants to indicate, while performing her song, that she finds herself in infernal surroundings will stop singing and spit out a huge flame to illustrate her point.

The Chinese actor can choose from a wide range of tools of expression. He can speak (*nian*) and sing (*chang*). He can practice stage fighting (*da*), and acting, dancing, acrobatics, etc. (*zuo*). All these skills are derived from variety shows, so extremely popular in the Old China.

A Chinese actor who appears on stage has the advantage that he is immediately recognized as a certain character by the audience, because of his presence, costumes, and make-up. The plot of the text used is only a loose framework within which the actor performs.

The Peking opera (*jingju*) developed, in the early 19th century, as a mixture of the local theatre forms *huiju* (*erhuang* music) from the province of Anhui, and *hanju* (*xipi* music) from the province of Hubei. Boys, between seven and thirteen years old, were recruited in the country and trained in Beijing by their masters to become actors and prostitutes. The boys were put up in a kind of boarding house (*tanghao*). Around 1875, these boarding houses grew into schools, or training institutes (*keban*). Often, more than a hundred boys were educated here, for two or three years, in the basic techniques of Peking Opera. Their training was completed with about seven years of stage experience.

In the nineteen thirties, the first theatre school was established where boys as well as girls were educated. Here, they were educated in a number of regular school subjects. The result was that the training in performing techniques decreased slightly. The teachers at this school were retired *jingju* actors. This educational system lasted until the mid-sixties.

Students of Chinese theatre were always trained by older actors, whose lifelong experience qualified them, according to Gissenwehrer (1984:3), as highly respected teachers. The old masters were assisted by younger teachers who took care of the stage fighting and acrobatics.

An important incentive to start training as early as possible was the flexibility and susceptibility of the student's body and character at an early age. Besides, the owner had to exploit the boys as much as possible, in their young days, before their voices broke as they grew into young adults.

Nowadays, the training of the Chinese actor is broken up into two phases. In the primary phase, covering two years, the actor studies: (1) *jiben wugong* (handstand, backwards arch, leg exercises, basic positions, and basic movements); (2) *tanzigong* (exercises on the soft and hard mat, such as somersaults and rolls); and (3) *bazigong* (stage fighting). The students are, in this phase, also acquainted with the stage. They act as soldier, or as lady-in-waiting, and thus develop their stage presence.

The ultimate focus in Chinese theatre is on the development of the presentation of inner energy (*yin*). The exercises and basic positions are merely means. It is assumed that once one knows these, one does not have to think about them any more and full attention can be paid to the actor's stage presence.

Education was often 'intimate'. For instance, to keep the spine supple there were several exercises in which the teacher would support or correct his mate by holding him. Exercises that were meant to train the students in flexibility and perseverance, were often based on endless repetition or tenacity. Some positions were sustained for fifteen to twenty minutes at a time.

In the training in stage fighting (martial arts), the students get to know the current weapons (*bazi*), the way in which they are used, but also all kinds of graceful tricks such as spinning them, etc. To make this possible, the weapons are imitations, made of light, painted wood. The students also learn different kinds of fighting techniques, such as fighting unarmed against armed enemies; or, fighting with short weapons against enemies who fight with long weapons.

In the second phase of the student's training programme he chooses a role (*hangdang*) in which he ultimately further qualifies. This choice is also determined by his physical build, features, and voice. All this together determines if the student will play a male role (*sheng*) or a female role (*dan*). The male roles are divided into those of civilians or military parts. Another, more technical, division is the one into male roles with a painted face (*jing*) or into comical male and female roles (*chou*).

In this training phase, the young actors are, initially, trained in speaking (*nian*), singing (*chang*), acting (*zuo*), and fighting (*da*). In the early days, texts used to be simply learned by heart. The teacher's pronunciation was literally imitated. As is the case in other parts of Asia, two languages were spoken on stage. The (comical) servants used the plain local dialect (*jingbai*), accessible to the man in the street. The other characters spoke a refined stage language

(*yundai*) with syllables derived from the Anhui and Hubei dialects, rhythmically pronounced, and often accompanied by percussion. The students first learned the more accessible dialect (*jingbai*) and then the stylized theatre language (*yundai*).

The basic technique of acting is divided into what is sometimes called the 'five methods': mouth, eyes, hands, physical motion, and movement (walking, running, etc.). A considerable number of (panto)mime techniques are incorporated into the training in acting techniques. The students learn that there is an essential difference between the walking across the stage of the male and of the female characters. Additionally, they are taught how to open a letter correctly in mime, how to ride a horse, pour and drink wine, row a boat, sit correctly, or cry, or close a door. In Chinese theatre all this is based on very elaborate, precise, and exaggerated actions that comply with strict conventions.

The first part of the training in the second phase is completed with a test of competence showing the harmony of arm and eye movements, of posture and walk (*shou yan shen fa bu*), and the harmony of each single movement of each part of the body in relation to the music. After this, the actor starts to learn complete (parts of) operas. He first learns the text (dialogue as well as librettos) by heart, then the melodies, and finally the exact movements, and facial expressions of the character concerned.

Schooling in Peking Opera under the communist regime

According to Yang (1962:137), two major changes took place under the communist regime that were important for the training in Peking Opera. Firstly, almost all theatre groups and ensembles in all of China were nationalized. This put all actors and stage managers under direct supervision and control of the state. Secondly, training institutes were established in some of the main cities.

The first theatre group in Tientsin was nationalized in 1956. Shanghai also nationalized all theatre groups in that year. The only exception to these developments was Beijing, where even today, some private ensembles operate, on the condition that they comply with all state requirements that also apply to the state companies.

In 1955, the Ministry of Culture issued an order for the establishment of a school in Beijing, for the education of 'cultural workers' in the style of the Peking Opera. This school became the Chinese Academy for Peking Opera, in Beijing. The school's aims were: (1) to plan and organize adaptations of existing operas; (2) to regularly perform new operas; (3) to implement the reform of the Peking Opera step by step; (4) to become the role model for other training institutes in the area of theatre; (5) to assist old-fashioned theatre companies in reorganizations and modernizations; (6) to improve the cultural and artistic level of the actors by way of education.

The internationally renowned artist Mei Lan-fang became the Academy's director. He was assisted by two officials Ma Shao-p'o and Ah Chia, who, as

executive directors, took care of cultural affairs. Later, similar academies were established in Shanghai, Wuhan, and Sian. Through these state schools for young singers and actors, the future performing artists received from the Peking Opera not only professional, but also ideological education, and indoctrination.

The Shanghai Academy of Drama (previously the Experimental Drama School of Shanghai) was founded in 1945, with its then chairman the deceased playwright Xong Fuxi. In 1952, the school was reorganized and received its current name. The Academy has four departments and a research institute for performing arts. The four departments are: School of Acting, School of Directing, Set Design, and the Dramatic Literature department. The department of set design has three sub departments: set building, lighting, and make-up. The dramatic literature department has two sub departments: play writing and dramaturgy.

According to Van Paridon (1979), the course takes four to five years. The students are residents, and regular education in language and arithmetic, etc. is provided by the school. The eighty percent of the students who finish the course find jobs with one of the many opera companies.

During the Cultural Revolution all classical Peking Opera plays were forbidden. During these ten years of the Gang of Four's cultural dictatorship, all western music was also forbidden. In brief, theatre performances were limited to five or six operas. The rest was absolutely prohibited. The result was that, when in the late seventies many things once again became possible, the public was most interested in the age-old operas they had missed for so long.

According to Rea (1977:22), no theatre schools were open in China in that period. Education became the groups' responsibility. By acting, students constantly kept in touch with reality/practice and prevailing social developments. Large companies such as the Nanking Peking Opera Company numbered about thirty to forty students and companions. Here too, training was traditional, and professional, as well as ideological. One learns Mao's speeches by heart, reads, performs, and spends two months a year on productive labour in the field, or in the factory.

During the Cultural Revolution, a number of subjects were added to the training programme for the Peking Opera, including ballet. Ballet was regarded a more detached technique for the expression of revolutionary passion. Moreover, the low (almost Italian sounding) tenor voice became extremely popular, replacing the traditional, high, and nasal interpretations of songs. Swords and spears were replaced by guns and pitchforks.

Music and education in North Korea

Korea, with its more than 4000 year-old culture, has been divided into capitalist South Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North, since World War II. According to Boehmer (1979:12), the enormous socio-economic,

political, and cultural differences between North and South are also reflected in the music. The three main musical movements in South Korea: traditional music that has become rigid folklore, western classical music performed in an uninspiring way, and western commercial light music, are lacking in North Korea.

In North Korea, an avant-garde musical movement does not really exist, because the development of music is geared towards the broad lower layer of farmers and workers. One strives for the development of popular art and this can only become reality if the art is brought to the people, so that the working people in the country and in the factories can partake in artistic activities on a large scale.

Thus, the North does not have the distinction into the three main musical movements, described above, that South Korea has. People even tried to integrate the national traditional music with western classical music in such a way that something completely new was created. If the music involves singing, then the texts of the songs have a clear educational, if not ethically indoctrinating, tenor. It should be noted that the same song can be performed in very diverse ways and may be presented to the audience life as well as through media like radio and television. In the indoctrination a maximum possible variation is sought, based on musical material that is recognizable for everyone.

The appreciation of this music 'with-a-thousand-faces' originated from the educational circuit of nursery schools and 'youth palaces', local and provincial schools of music. Furthermore, the necessary attention is paid to music education for young and old by radio and television. The 'youth palaces' are educational and cultural leisure centres, where each child has the chance to study ballet or dance gymnastics, or singing, or to learn to play an instrument. The lessons are free, as are the instruments, the course materials, and 'practice clothes'. A 'youth palace' is more than a regional school of music, because it gives one the opportunity to qualify in table tennis, machine building, drawing, astronomy, or boxing. The children are there on a voluntary basis and choose their own subjects.

At primary schools too, attention is paid to education in music. That is why the Teachers' Training Colleges, like the one in Pyongyang, have a department of School Music where future teachers are trained to become full musicians. Those who want to qualify further, professionally, have to study at a school of music, for instance, at the National Conservatory in Pyongyang. Here, as with any other level of education, the student is not so much trained to be a soloist, but learns how to function in a fraternal and equal way with fellow musicians.

This 'communal' principle is also what the teachers are looking for at the annual selection for the Conservatory. Those who want to be admitted to the Higher Professional Education Institutes for musicians or school musicians, should not have the character traits of a soloist. Once a year, teachers at these institutes travel to the 'youth palaces', to the farthest corners of the country, to

select, on the spot, the most talented candidates for admission to the conservatory. One can also, of course, simply apply for selection.

Performing arts and curricula at primary and secondary schools in Africa

Indigenous education exists due to oral pedagogy, in which the principles of observation, memorising, and imitation, are central. Indigenous education is pragmatic and uses a great number of mnemonic aids - such as sayings, riddles, expressions, maxims, and proverbs - to store and transfer knowledge. That is why, according to Salia-Bao (1989:82-83), many wise lessons are passed on through songs that relate the history and traditions of the family and the clan. More fictitious stories, in which, for instance, animals play a part, are also used for this purpose. And there is a whole range of imitation games that enlighten education at a later age. Finally, physical education is attended to from a very young age on, ranging from running, jumping, wrestling, mock fighting to dancing.

Dance still is an important medium of education, one of the ways by which culture is disseminated within a generation and transmitted from generation to generation. This was true before European colonial interventions and still applies nowadays.

In the traditional education of children in rural areas, the performing arts were taught by gradually exposing children to music, dance and drama. From the time they were young, knowledge and skills in these arts were transferred during work, in the evening hours on festive occasions or simply during everyday games. Instruction became more deliberate in the initiation camps, where the main teaching tools were imitation and repetition. Besides this rather classical type of instruction, each young person being initiated had his own individual supervisor as was described at length in chapter one and seven. If someone showed particular talent in one of the performing arts, he was put under the tutelage of a master.

During the colonial period the education of children was primarily in the hands of the missions. As in Europe, the church made use of 'educational drama'. On the one hand this built upon the skills in the performing arts that the children had already acquired at home; at the same time it offered a 'respectable' alternative to the 'heathen' dance dramas and ritual masquerades that were native to the children's communities. It did no good to forbid dance dramas; the dance groups simply 'went underground'. So why not turn sin into virtue? In the 1950's, for example, the Holy Cross mission post in Pondoland made use of dance drama to teach the story of Saul and David. The fight with Goliath was especially suited to incorporating local war dances (Taylor 1950:298-300).

But most useful of all for purposes of preaching the gospel and educating were the narrative songs and sketches. In South Sudan converted Dinka minstrels were put to work preaching the word of God. They made up their own new

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words for the refrains of old songs, and the audience sang along. Experiments in using sketches were tried out mainly in schools and urban neighbourhoods. For the pupils it was a good way of being introduced to the written word. Especially in Uganda parables were acted out. The teacher told the parable and the pupils improvised a sketch around it. Discussion followed and changes were made. Costumes and props came into the picture only at the final rehearsal.

In the 1950's there were also performances at the mission schools outside regular school hours. In general these were works by European authors: Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, 18th century comedies and the classics. Texts were memorised, European theatrical conventions were used, and local black people played the roles of white pirates, shepherds, and baronesses. The teacher followed the script word-for-word and there was no room for improvisation.

By integrating the performing arts into its curriculum, the mission hoped that a new form of liturgical drama would develop in Africa similar to that of the European Middle Ages. This did not occur, however, and such ideas are a thing of the past by now.

In the 1970's people in Africa began gradually to question what the place of music, dance and drama should be in regular school curricula. Of course one does not need a specific curriculum to teach drama. All over Africa enthusiastic and talented teachers in many primary and secondary schools have become involved in drama education. But often when these people leave, no particular need is felt to replace them with a teacher who also has specific talents in this area. In other words, drama lessons are a more incidental than structural part of education in Africa.

Nonetheless, more and more attempts are being made to make drama lessons more than just an extracurricular activity in African schools. The people who design teaching materials are gradually coming to appreciate the value of traditional educative games and drama. Even though little attention was given to them during the colonial period, and they were seen as oldfashioned by those who made educational policy right after independence, those games and skits had proven their educational value in traditional education.

The present-day educational system in Africa is still strongly marked by the colonial past. The 1960's were a major turning point in African history in that one-by-one most African states acquired their independence. This by no means eliminated all traces of European influence, however. French, English or Portuguese continued to be used in the schools, and pupils were expected to sound as British or French as possible. For the little drama or theatre that there was, criteria were drawn from the literary traditions and ideas of Europe. In the period immediately following independence, students tended to be scornful of their own traditional culture, and by the time they finished their schooling they had become alienated from their own society.

So African pupils are more or less illiterate in their own musical culture and lack understanding of its structure and organization. Educators are willing to pay

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attention to African performing arts. However, there is no place for it in the curriculum. Although during the sixties curricula were completely taken from European educational systems, people in Africa are no longer passive consumers of these exogenous models. That is why African curriculum developers trouble their heads about how to fit in performing arts into educational programmes. The problems they meet with, however, are numerous. How to define correct educational objectives? How to determine the content of a course for different educational levels? How to organize a class programme? What method and educational materials are used? Must the curriculum aim at cultural continuity, the advance of music, dance and drama skills or only at the appreciation of performing arts and theatre? Is the intention to create the facility to train musical appreciation? Is the intention to create the facility to train performing artists? What to do with these specialists when they have completed their studies?

Generally the following suggestions recur. In primary education the foundation is laid for secondary education in musical cultures from all over the world. On the secondary education level the programme will be bi-musical, that is both African and North-Atlantic music, so that on the higher education level (that is college or university) there can be further specialization, with due attention to African music.

Drama and curriculum development in Africa

African writers of children's plays long ago discovered the importance of narrative techniques. They use the traditional forms of oral art, popular stories, storytelling techniques and comic interludes to draw the children into the dramatic action and thus liven up the performances. In the traditional African context there must be reactions from the audience if the narrator is to give his best performance. He relies on playing with his listeners and sometimes even demands their active participation.

It was Efua Sutherland, a writer in Ghana, who in 1968 developed rhythmic children's games based on traditional African art forms. Efua Sutherland is convinced that a traditional form of education has much more meaning for the children than the western educational system. For children that were still too young for improvisation or children's theatre, this sort of adapted traditional plays proved to be ideal. Efua Sutherland argues that educational projects for children should integrate drama into such subjects as geography, history and language. With support from UNICEF, she has tried introducing new themes into old legends that appeal to children.

The intention of these UNICEF projects was to demonstrate the value of integrating African culture into education. Ghanan playwrights were challenged to write plays for children that made maximum use of their own cultural values. "The Institute for African Studies of the Legon University in Accra held a workshop in the late 1970s where a wide range of techniques were studied for

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adapting orally transmitted narratives, children's rhymes, cradle songs, jingles and children's games into stage productions" (Berg-Groen 1979:21).

Examples of children's plays that are based on popular stories are *A pot of Okoro soup* (Martin Owusu) and *The ever-turning windmill* (Sebastian Kwamuas). In the first play the author uses a comedy tradition and takes the liberty of introducing new ideas into the original story. The second play is about famine. The play is carried by the narrator, who speaks directly to the children: "What are you doing here? You can see that there isn't enough food for all of you. Look at me. Can't you see my ribs? Surely you understand that there is famine here. No food, no water, nothing. You had better to go home". This introduction of course makes the children uneasy. One of them moves to get up, but sits back down when she sees she's the only one. Then there is giggling. "So you're all going to stay"? Children in unison: "Yes!" And the story continues (Arkhurst 1981:161).

When drama lessons are part of the regular secondary-school curriculum they are generally being used to teach language and language arts. There are also extra-curricular school productions. Although drama lessons are not yet systematically incorporated into the curricula of all African high schools, policy papers continually stress the importance of integrating mime, music, song, dance, drama and narration into regular lessons.

In Zambia Stephen Chifunyise has experimented with using drama in language teaching. He calls it creative rather than educational drama. For him drama is an educational tool with which the pupil in an effective way gives form to what he has learned. Its simplest use in language teaching consists in acting out specific events or situations which one wants to express in the language. A pupil is asked to act out a story from his own cultural background. The other pupils write what they have seen in the language they are learning (English). The pupils expand their vocabulary and learn to express themselves in the new language. Sometimes these stories are used again for writing dialogues in which the pupils can practice in both vocabulary and grammar.

The extra-curricular productions at secondary schools also increasingly involve a rediscovery of the value of one's own culture, in which the various performing arts cannot be separated from each other. Facial expressions, posture and gesture make African dance so full of imagery that it can replace whole sections of dialogue. Songs serve the same function. It is quite usual that the end of a story is not told, but instead sung by the full company. Therefore, traditional stories are a frequent source of inspiration since they are characterised by both a clear message and theatricality, so that it is easy to translate them into mime, dance or song. They also belong to a repertory which every child knows from the time he is small. Turning popular stories into theatre is good preparation for becoming acquainted with modern African literary plays in which themes of traditional African stories are unmistakable (Leshoai 1965).

So that such initiatives acquire a firmer basis and no longer depend only on a single enthusiastic teacher, teacher-training programmes are now devoting more attention to the use of drama within primary and secondary education. This is supported by African playwrights as well as by the world of education. According to Durojaiye the future teachers are made aware of the traditional source material that is already present among their pupils in the form of popular stories, mime, movement, children's songs, games and the use of local musical instruments.

Not only the games themselves but also the rules and styles of African acting now receive more attention at teacher-training colleges. They are helpful when designing exercises for improvisations or for children's plays. In this way young teachers can acquaint children with acting as a way of warming up, but also with typically African theatrical conventions regarding composition, plot development, story outlines, characters, scenes, etc. This is why according to Arkhurst (1981:160) drama classes in teacher-training programmes are giving more attention to the skill of story-telling, so much a part of the African theatrical tradition.

In Nigeria there is serious appreciation for the fact that enthusiasm among teachers is not enough to guarantee that drama lessons become a permanent part of the curriculum. Curriculum developers are serious about the need for trained drama teachers. At the very least, primary school teachers should be familiar with traditional games and techniques of acting and telling stories. Secondary-school teachers should at least be aware of traditional story structures and of modern African literature. In the art of telling stories skill in using language means being able to make something clear to an audience. This is, according to Adelugba (cf. Crow 1983:viii/ix), why training programmes in drama and theatre in Africa are now devoting more attention to developing specific methods for teaching art and language skills through the performing arts.

Expressive skills as in dance, music or drama are trained in primary and secondary education, but with a specific purpose. The issue is to advance general knowledge, to support reading and writing. According to Adelugba (cf. Crow 1983:viii/ix) however, today African drama and staging programmes pay attention to the development of an authentic methodology for fine arts training and language command.

This does not alter the fact that dance in Africa is taught in secondary schools as a form of gymnastics, a form of physical education, for the benefit of the physical development of young adults. But because one cannot disconnect dance, music and singing in Africa, according to Harper (1967:3-8), curriculum developers more and more believe that this sort of lessons should serve to support the pupils' sense of authentic cultural identity.

In the past fifty years in African education, music was taught according to the European formal educational system. There was no room for a transmission of the African musical heritage. At schools of music the only issue was the singing of hymns. It was only later that some European and African popular tunes were

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added to the programme. But even now, thirty years after the independence of the African countries, there still is no regular place for African music in education. The music taught has little to do with the music the child hears after school hours in his own environment.

Professional expressive skill training is mostly given at special schools in higher education. Here it appears again that even in formal education the implicit notion exists that expressive subjects should be trained at a later stage in life than the purely technical subjects. Trainees who wish to be trained as professional performers usually will have to pass primary and secondary school. Exceptions are highly specialized and technical stage disciplines, such as the classical ballet tradition as initially developed in the Euro-American world.

At African Universities, the study of the performing arts is featured in the programmes of the various faculties and departments. For instance, in Eastern and Southern Africa, the Faculty of African languages of the University of Zimbabwe has a number of programmes that are wholly or partly directed at the traditional oral cultures of the Shona and Ndembele. The English Department of the University of Botswana not only offers a programme in poetry and oral tradition, but also, in the past, used to organize a special programme about 'The importance of the colour black in three Shakespearean plays'.

The Department of Fine Arts and Performing Arts of the University of Malawi, focused on theatre in its courses, with topics that ranged from African popular theatre, Community Theatre projects, and Malipenga Dance Drama to Marona dance. Finally, the department of Music of the University of Makarere (Uganda) has a strong programme that focuses on socially relevant African theatre, including a strong comparative music research component.

At these departments, people are educated for a master's degree. In general, the carriers of this title are not the best motivated people to act as cultural workers in everyday life. That is why French-speaking Africa in particular, has a training infrastructure that is similar to our professional education system. Togo, for instance, has a Regional Centre for Cultural Action (CRAC), based in Lomé. The CRAC, according to Razatovo (1989:42), offers two management training courses, one for cultural advisor and one for cultural animators. Students enroling come from different French-speaking African countries. The Centre's educational system is based on equality and the idea that teachers and students have something to share.

Pan-African management training courses are established in other places in Africa, also. At the beginning of 1985, the Botswana International Society of Music (BISM) was founded in Botswana, with the aim to set up professional music education. The advantage of this construction was that the rules and regulations of the Ministry of Education did not have to be adhered to as far as admission and exam requirements were concerned.

The course was partly housed in the Maru-a-pula ('Rain clouds') school, on the edge of Gaborone. The course started with about forty students in the first

year. The group was not exactly international at the outset, due, mainly, to a lack of money and a grant system. The majority of participants came from Botswana and South Africa.

According to Ten Horn (1986:23), the course provides training in musical notation, among others things. In the past, Africans were taught the so-called *tonic-solfa*-musical notation, which was introduced by the Englishman John Curwen in the last century. This was based on the assumption that Africans were not intelligent enough to master the staff notation system. *Tonic-solfa* provides less musical information. Besides, its possibilities are limited. It can be used for singing, but hardly for instruments.

Final remarks

According to H'Doubler (1957:64) too "often the tendency is to center dance education in performance, with the emphasis on technical skill, instead of studying the subject as a whole and using creative motor experience as the basis of instruction. In considering dance as an educational and creative art experience and not as performance, we should take care that students know dance as a special way of re-experiencing aesthetic values discovered in reality".

The nature of theatre is unique in the sense that the work of art itself instantly ceases to exist. The moment it is presented to an audience it vanishes beyond recall. Another characteristic of the performing arts is that the performers are expected to be able to make a performance that can be repeated. Here we see one of the many paradoxes inherent in the art form that is theatre. It is this acknowledged contradiction on which every performer's training hinges: a repeated, once-only and credible co-presence with the audience in a unique performative experience. This goes for most classical or traditional genres, as well as for all modern developments.

When speaking of traditional performance genres, we generally refer to genres which, historically speaking, have become, as it were 'frozen in time'. Some time in the past these genres developed, were provided with a number of stage conventions, and their performances formed a repertory. These stage conventions and the repertory later became a prerequisite for the appreciation of the performance and the curriculum of the performer's training.

From the examples and cases presented in this chapter it appears that in Thailand, Japan and Indonesia through the centuries there has been a move from traditional performing arts training, where senior 'masters' train their pupils individually, towards as more formalized training, in which class education and the testing of ever more complicated skills will determine the career step by step. Here the exclusiveness of court tradition at an early stage in time partly caused the great stage masters to be hired to design a first formalized curriculum for the schools at the court, while the final organization, administration and recruitment were the responsibility of the court.

Formalization is part of a general development process. This also holds good for fine arts training departments. In Africa curricula in the fine arts sector in secondary education are currently elaborated upon. Performing and fine arts are to be learned on the university level. Each country naturally has its own endogenous development process, which eventually is no more than a historical process. Not in each country, however, does the same development occur. No one can prognosticate if in Egypt[1] centrally organized stage workshops will be given in a few years, just as we do not know if there will be an art academy for puppet players in India in the future. Considering the experience in a number of Third World countries, for the time being one may conclude that some sort of formalization of fine arts professional training in the field of performing arts is to be expected.

13.
Putting the anthropology of theatre into practice: training, acting and simulating

In spite of the fact that culture becomes increasingly global, the consumer still goes for *the real thing*. The old, natural, authentic or traditional context of cultural customs has filled a niche. Maybe not so much in our memories, but certainly in the vacation destinations offered to us, ranging from amusement parks to open-air museums. A genuine market for culture industry is born. Tourists pay visits to villages where craftsmen carve wood in their 'natural' surroundings. To be invited for an inside view, and to be offered a cup of cloyingly sweet tea in an informal atmosphere, thinking that this only happens to you, is the highlight of any tourist's trip. The less well-off consumers, or those of a less adventurous nature, make do with the amusement park, ranging from Wild West villages in the Mid-West of the USA to the Zuider Zee Museum in the north of the Netherlands.

Here, a historically and culturally authentic environment is created and, according to a 'dramaturgical concept of everyday life', populated with actors who act out the reconstructed reality as accurately as possible, in a psychological-realistic way. Just like the real thing, but not quite.

The purpose of these cultural projects is recreational and didactic. Some amusement parks, such as Disney Land[1], are there for entertainment, yet others, like most open-air museums, have an educational objective. This is obvious from the guidance offered by the educational services connected with the museums[2].

The principle of learning through an acted-out situation is an old given. It is very much related to the learning principle of 'make-believe'. Children's games such as 'cowboys and indians', or 'playing house' are typical examples. All forms of role play too, belong to the didactic material of training courses, varying from courses in social skills in interviews for future employees, to techniques of job evaluations for managers. And here too, in order to create *the real thing*, more and more professional actors are hired to make the training situation as authentic as possible.

In both the public and commercial services sector, the value of actors and theatre has been discovered and is used in training courses that aim to promote customer-friendly behaviour. Both discussion techniques and social skills are dealt with in these courses. And they do not just aim to make a car salesman approach his prospective customer in an even slicker way, or to make an insurance agent sell an even cheaper policy, but they are also used to teach a future police officer how to direct conversations in such a way that he can find out what he needs to know in a friendly manner.

"Tender Taxidancing Mobile" (Expo Sevilla)
Photo: Maurice Boyer

Finally, the business sector has always have an eye for 'pretence', even if it is only on a small scale. This usually involves adding lustre to events and celebrations. Actresses are used in this way to function as Dutch cheese girls in Holland promotion. And wherever folkloric events are organized in the Netherlands, actors will change into the local costume to make the event even more attractive to the public. The annual folkloric market in Schragen is inhabited by craftsmen showing off their industrious craftsmanship in authentic costumes. This is also true for the cheese porters at the Alkmaar market. These roles are usually not played by actors. They are fulfilled by hard working craftsmen who, because of a social event, have put on historical costumes.

Things are different for the actors and actresses of the Dutch theatre group Tender[3]. They, too, act to add lustre to an event, but unseen and unobserved. They present a kind of theatre that was once described by drama teacher Augusto Boal as 'invisible theatre'. The actors do indeed stick to a script or story line, dialogues, mutual relationships, props and costumes, but the area where the play takes place (the 'stage') is determined by a 'natural' and already existing environment. This can be a bar on the Damrak in Amsterdam, or the Maas Tunnel in Rotterdam. The actors play as realistically -and therefore as inconspicuously- as possible, as part of the audience. It is a form of informal theatre. The

spectators are not aware that they are part of a performance, watching actors at work. And the actors work hard to achieve this.

Fake and imitation

From China, decoration materials are imported, which are used in flower arrangements and Christmas bouquets. The outpost is also used for the import of imitation Christmas trees. This has become a truly ingenious industry: imitating 'nature'. It appears that if there is only a minimal difference between an imitation tree and a real one, the Dutch consumer is prepared to buy the imitation tree. In 1991 about 70,000 were sold.

Replicas have of course always been made of truly beautiful, rare and expensive objects. At the time of solid handicrafts, these replicas retained a certain individual uniqueness. But since objects can be reproduced in series, art can be found in picture books and everyone can afford to buy an imitation 'antique' Greek statue to put in his garden.

A lot of objects and buildings are imitated. Toys consist of imitation forts or castles, imitation cuddly animals, imitation trains and airplanes. To some it is an entertaining puzzle to reconstruct model steam engines out of a design kit, for others leisure activities consist of embroidering a famous 'classic' painting on a piece of pre-printed cloth.

Imitation can also be found outside the household. For instance, with the Dutch club of sand castle builders. Members of this club build castles and other historical Dutch buildings using sand. Often, they use all kinds of historical styles from Dutch architecture in their miniatures. In countries with a lot of snow, the same kind of buildings are built out of snow. Competitions are organized and a jury decides which of the miniatures is the most beautiful or most faithful.

Then there are replicas which have to be operational, from a scientific viewpoint, or otherwise. Let us limit ourselves to boats. Thor Heyerdahl, the Norwegian anthropologist, built a boat, twice, to find out how people in the early days, could have taken up abode overseas. His Kontiki expedition aimed to prove how the (islands in the) Pacific Ocean got inhabited and, in particular, how Easter Island with its megalithic heads became populated from Latin America. It involved not only the reconstruction of a boat, but also a reconstruction of a survival journey. A couple of years later, he repeated this, using a boat made of reeds, with which he left Egypt and aimed to cross the Atlantic.

Of a less scientific nature was the building of the replica of the VOC-ship at the wharf of the Amsterdam maritime museum. A major publicity stunt. Plans have been made to give the ship a professional crew, including sailors, a cook, a captain and a boatswain. The museum committee wants volunteers to represent life on the ship in the most authentic way possible, for two days a week. They should try to bring the history of Dutch merchant shipping to life again, through role play. To the museum's management team this is 'living history'.

Maybe we should mark time here and consider the difference between art, ingeniousness and expertise in more detail. Besides by its beauty, a work of art is usually determined as such by its uniqueness and with that, its measure of accessibility. Even if there are two hundred copies of a lithograph, there are only two hundred unique copies around which can be sold. This is not to say that imitation is understandable on a market of scarce goods. Imitations are produced of the ugliest and relatively cheapest of objects. Objects that are referred to as junk in many cases, but which are still 'nice' things to have. So, both works of art and their replicas are widely appreciated by society.

Art, however, has its negative connotations. The word artificial in artificial grass, or artificial ice skating rink, obviously denotes something man-made, something that imitates nature. In any case, it is fake and not real. It is artificial and defies the laws of nature. Yet, in general, it is skilfully and ingeniously produced. In the eyes of many consumers a lot of art is 'ingeniously produced'. An artificial ice skating rink is, after all, a technologically ingenious product, with which one ensures ice without being dependent on the seasons. And artificial grass will always remain green, certainly around the pool of an American motel in Arizona.

Rituals and corporate culture

In the eighties, in the United States, it was found, that the companies that were most successful could be characterized by a clear corporate culture, in which excellent service to the customers, commitment by the employees, and flexibility in the field of management[4] were high on the list of priorities. According to Koot (1986:57), it was soon discovered that this corporate image was clearly related to the culture of the organisation. And culture was about values, standards and points of view on organization, social conduct and presentation. But who knew about these things? Anthropologists, of course! And they were brought in to research corporate cultures.

Anthropologists were commissioned, for instance, to research how and why personnel on the shop floor deal with production techniques, how mutual, informal relationships are formed, or how middle management operates. Production lines and methods were, in the past, mainly designed by engineers, technical scientists who, through lines of thought based on cause and effect and the chronology of events, arrived at a design which guaranteed the highest level of efficiency, effectiveness and adequacy. However, they failed to take the 'human factor' into account. And those maintaining the production line are people.

It was not until much later that the importance of complaints and suggestions from the shop floor was acknowledged. And at that point anthropological research became important also. Anthropologists work differently from engineers. They are really the 'handymen' *(bricoleurs)* of the soft sciences. They gather

information, let the employees talk about their tasks and activities, and ask for their opinions about potential improvements. Besides, they mix with employees on the shop floor to have a look themselves; to find out if their information corresponds with what they observe on the shop floor. This so-called 'participant observation' goes way beyond conducting interviews and questionnaires. According to Olila, in an interview with De Waard (1986:9), it determines the essence of anthropology in comparison with sociology or psychology.

General Motors (GM), the car manufacturer, hired anthropologists to research the following problem. Management decided in the early eighties to send their most talented managers to one of the factories outside the United States for a period of one year, so that they could broaden their experience. This transatlantic transfer was no success. Research conducted by two anthropologists showed that whereas top management was enthusiastic about the scheme, middle management did not share this enthusiasm, and even sabotaged the plans. The reason behind this was that managers in the American branch of GM regarded themselves as the elite corps, and a transfer to one of the branches abroad was seen as a demotion, a punishment.

According to De Waard (1986:9), the anthropologist is also a welcome visitor in British industries. Both British Rail and Unilever used anthropological research in the early eighties. Research for British Rail (BR) involved the public's viewpoint on the positive or negative influence of the wearing of uniforms on the performance of the BR officials. Accurate observation and the anthropologists' inside view of people within their working environment convinced BR of the researchers' sound judgement.

In the Netherlands, micro-sociological research into organizational cultures in commercial and public institutions showed that these cultures determine the limited chance of filling management positions that women get during their careers. It appears that women are accepted as managers in businesses only with great difficulty. The public sector has formulated a much milder policy and better employment legislation on that point. According to Merens (1990), this is a result of the stereotype views on the role of women and men, and of the fact that women are less well integrated in the informal circuit. This is stronger in business than in the public sector. Not just because, in the business sector, the organizational culture is stronger, but also because of a different mentality, and different legislation.

At General Motors, the researching anthropologist discovered that the crux of the problem consisted of the existing ideas about status; at British Rail the conventions on, and image of uniforms, and in Dutch business life, the views on the role of men and women. In these cases, ideas, imagery and viewpoints incite certain behaviour, or prevent changes in behaviour. Besides, each enterprise has a code of conduct which ensures the company's continuation. And this code of conduct is partly technical and partly social. It is difficult to change, because

people feel it is part of the tradition. To the employee it is often an achieved social right, which is taken for granted.

Part of the code, obviously, has to be unambiguous, especially where it concerns the external presentation of customer-oriented companies. There has to be a corporate image. Airlines are a good illustration. This branch of public transport demands a strictly regulated organization with a number of completely arbitrary, yet imperative behavioral conventions, or 'corporate rituals'. The identity the airline represents is built on order, security, safety and punctuality. That is why a number of very strict safety measures and social rules are created. The interaction between air hostesses and passengers is service and customer-oriented, friendly, yet reserved. To indicate this, unambiguous dress is used: the uniform. The customer always knows who to address as stewardess.

According to Hofstede (1991:19), in this context of behavioral rituals, rituals are understood to mean collective activities that are, technically speaking, superfluous for reaching the set objectives, but which are regarded as socially vital within a corporate culture: they are performed for their own sake, and constitute an important part in the social games of daily life. In some of the service industry professions it is important that the customer is, in principle, right. One of the stewardesses' social skills is that, even if they know better, they do not come across as too smart, because it would not fit the service-oriented attitude of an air hostess.

Just like it is important for sales people at a trade show to know how to dress, to stand, to look and how to address customers. Thus, people familiarize themselves with a number of skills that do not directly relate to the technical details of services, but that make closing a deal much more pleasant.

This is especially important when it concerns negotiations with people from cultures unfamiliar to you. The miscalculations of companies, or their failure to do sufficient research into religion, climate, eating habits, and colour preferences to see if the market will allow sales of their products, are less important than research into the local social customs and ways of negotiating.

However, as appears from this chapter, problems with 'ritualistic' social behaviour can also be found closer to home. It was mentioned above how difficult it is for women in the Netherlands to be accepted as managers within the corporate culture. It is even more difficult for Dutch people with a different cultural or ethnic background. Especially in the light of the current social climate. This can only be changed if the corporate culture of a company or public institution changes, whether supported by social legislation or not.

The views that women cannot perform as well as men in the area of management, and that coloured people cannot perform as well as white people are based on 'myths', on stories that are too restricted by usage alone to represent reality. Language is a construction, a metaphor used to exchange ideas about reality. Thus, states Fentener van Vlissingen (1986:133), when "you are looking for the truth, you have a choice between taking the story literally or experiencing the

contents". And the experiencing can only take place on the shop floor or through a simulated situation which imitates the situation on the shop floor.

The shop floor is the place to find out about gossip and 'ritualistic' behaviour that has developed. With the help of an imitated situation, research can be done into the effects of changing that behaviour, and with it, the existing corporate culture. It is a laboratory situation in which you try to influence behaviour in such a way that, when put into effect in the real working situation, the corporate culture will change in its totality. Transformation is not new, according to Harrison Owen, it is merely the result of changes in the world. There is usually no choice, it happens and you have to adjust. If you do not, you will not survive, states Owen in an interview with Chris Fentener van Vlissingen (1986:131).

Given this basic situation, it appears that in this sort of planned processes of change, on the one hand, the cultural anthropologist plays an important role in researching corporate culture, and on the other hand, drama teachers and actors can be of assistance to the employees by showing them, through simulated situations, the importance of changed behaviour. And, as we shall see, this approach does not only apply to the business sector, it also applies to the public sector. And in the latter, it is not restricted to training basic skills as Bouwman (1989:16-18) describes, for managers who learn about ways of interaction and etiquette, or for movers who learn to be more customer-oriented, but it also covers a 'role play' situation in which the most effective way an organizational structure can operate in is looked into.

Rituals and oppression

Sometimes, a distinction is made between regressive and progressive culture. This distinction can be recognized in a social context by the extent to which the conventions of a cultural manifestation are open to changes. Some of these conventions are seen as so 'sacred' and 'mythical', by the population, that the consumer does not even regard them as oppressive because they form part of an age-old and highly valued tradition. An illustration can be found in the tea ceremony in the United Kingdom, or Japan. Hence, not every regressive form of culture needs to be experienced as oppressive by the population. Rituals, after all, also have a regulating effect and provide beauty, aesthetic enjoyment and security (in social interactions).

More important is the extent to which behavioral conventions are experienced by the users as natural and self-evident, and therefore as setting the standard. This process sets in quickly. A certain 'naturalness' in living with conventions from whichever corporate culture is, indeed, much desired by the users. When things are matter of course, there is no need to think about them and it all seems to come from intuition, which to many people is considered the 'purest feeling' we can have.

Rituals are also the weakest and most vulnerable spots in everyday life, just because of that inherent natural feeling of security. In brief, our highly-valued daily rituals are also our weakest links. They represent the most predictable part of our lives, which will be attacked by every enemy within the social game. That is why Augusto Boal, in the late seventies, regarded these set habits as an oppressing mechanism in each individual, which prevents us from expressing ourselves sincerely. Boal regarded these rituals as obstacles in the shaping of our personality.

That is why he searched for a method to remove these obstacles through play. Game situations which, later, were rediscovered by the business community and used to make employees aware of negotiation strategies, crisis intervention and outplacement procedures. To Boal (1970:94), a ritual involved "(...) any complete system of actions and reactions in which the individual human will cannot change the system fundamentally, but only gives it a particular shape and colour".

To, convincingly, give shape to that colour and form of outward behaviour, the individual uses a number of social masks behind which he, or she, can hide. Using such a mask goes beyond just removing the original facial expression characteristic for each person. The mask concerns the total adjusted behaviour, in order to hide messages about the individual's inner feelings. A kind of complete disguise.

To raise people's consciousness of these naturally set social rituals and the masks involved, Boal designed an approach in the early seventies that is, in fact, based on training courses for actors. Boal regards such a training session as a visit to the playhouse to watch a performance. This means that a group of people watches others perform, but is also actively involved as an audience, which can intervene, make suggestions on how to improve the acting, and can actually take the place of an actor on stage.

According to Boal, to turn a spectator into an actor, the spectator needs to learn some basic skills of the trade as well as know about the elementary theatre conventions. In view of the fact that his own body is an actor's only medium to express himself with, the first phase of Boal's 'Theatre of the oppressed' consists of the spectator familiarizing himself with his own physical ability to express himself. Boal claims that people who have never acted before, encounter at least two obstacles. First, they have to get rid of their rooted ideas on 'acting'. Second, they have to cope with their physical clumsiness. These two barriers have to be overcome by way of play.

The second phase is geared toward the mutual relationships between the players, more than toward the individual actors. This phase consists of games that require teamwork but not yet acting out a part. Acting and interpretation of a part will not be required until the third phase, in which the spectator is expected to intervene in the dramatic action during a performance.

According to Boal (1974:161-164), the first step in this third phase of the training course consists of getting to know 'simultaneous dramaturgy'. Concrete

examples of, and anecdotes about problems related to a certain theme, such as illiteracy for instance, are presented by the group. In the next step of this phase, the audience intervenes much more directly in the scene. A concrete or abstract theme is put forward for discussion. All kinds of anecdotes will result from this. But, instead of acting them out, they are placed in *tableaux vivants*. The anecdote is not put into words but visualized by its producer and his co-actors.

> "It is important to produce an initial picture which corresponds with the realistic image that the participants have of the chosen theme. The job is then repeated, but now the ideal image is portrayed instead of the reality of the theme. And then a transitional image has to be produced: how does one get from reality to the ideal image?" (Zonneveld 1979:17).

In the third step the intervention of the audience is at its height. This is so-called 'forum theatre'. As a result of an anecdote on social oppression, a number of participants act out a brief scene of fifteen to twenty minutes, with an unhappy ending. After a short break the scene is repeated. Now, the audience can stop the action taking place on the stage, and take over one of the parts. The scene is used as a 'role play laboratory'. After all, the person taking over the part with his action intends to find out if the way in which he prefers to deal with the situation actually works.

The people in the audience are, of course, asked if they agree with the presented solution. After that, the spectator replacing the actor will rejoin the audience and the original actor will retake his place to finish the performance, with or without dramatic changes. In this way, forum theatre provides Boal with a way of researching changes in social conduct by way of game strategies.

Finally, the fourth phase is that of the 'theatre as discourse'. The best known forms that Boal developed and tried out through the years are 'newspaper theatre' and 'invisible theatre'. Boal experimented with these techniques in Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Europe. According to Boal (1979:29), invisible theatre takes place "when a scene is played in an area outside the theatre, before people who are not part of an audience. The set can be a restaurant, a street, a queue in front of the cinema, a market, or a train compartment. The play is performed for people who happen to pass by, and they should never be allowed to realize that they are watching a theatre performance, because that would immediately turn them into an 'audience'. Invisible theatre has to be carefully and minutely prepared. It demands a lot from the actors; awareness, wit and a talent for group improvisations. During the rehearsals, the actors have to anticipate all possible reactions from the 'audience' and integrate them into the play, which becomes an open-ended script".

As a result of a comment made by one of his Parisian staff members, Boal (cf. Michalsky 1980:15) formulated the difference between 'forum theatre' and 'invisible theatre' as follows: whereas in 'forum theatre' reality is portrayed on

stage with the help of make-belief, in 'invisible theatre' the acting is put into scenes as faithfully as possible in day-to-day reality. Thus, in 'forum' one analyses real problems while one acts; but 'invisible theatre' is no longer a game, it is no longer a preparation for action: these are true-to-life actions that intervene in what is happening in the environment.

On the borderline: training and 'role play laboratory'

At the police academy in Leusden in the Netherlands, in a large shed, a lifelike street has been built. Not like in a movie set with just the fronts of the buildings. It is a small street with a supermarket, a police station, two houses, a café, a bank, all with real doors and real interiors, just like you would see in any supermarket or bank in a busy shopping area in a large Dutch city. This reconstruction is unique for this academy and is lacking in the training centres in The Hague, Apeldoorn or Amsterdam. On the other hand, the academy in Amsterdam has an extensive outside area with roads and alleys, bicycle paths, bus stops replete with the usual benches, signs, lights and, of course, some shrubs and bushes where danger lurks.

These reconstructions of the outside world provide practice areas for future policemen and their assistants. They receive theoretical as well as practical training in which their legal knowledge, their police, and social skills can be tried, evaluated and discussed within the safe context of an experimental situation. Playing opposite the future police force are actors who have been especially trained in psychological-realistic acting. The acting is therefore, as realistic as possible, not so much to confuse the prospective policemen, but to confront them with potential incidents in a realistic way. By learning how to place aggression and by learning not to get involved emotionally, one is expected to increase the chances of getting out of incidents unharmed.

All this starts with the most basic of issues, such as 'how do I address someone and on the basis of what'. This will be used to bring the most elementary legal knowledge to the surface. When a situation becomes more complicated, that is to say, when there is a conflict, the future policemen will have to use his social skills as well as his newly acquired police skills: the rules you have to pay attention to when you arrest someone or take someone into custody. Finally, the most difficult assignments consist of crisis intervention situations, in which the emotional aspect of the conflict is no longer contained within the conflict itself, as with psychological disturbances. The policemen learns how to deal with this situation and how to hand someone over, or how to refer someone to experts such as social workers or other experts in professional counselling.

Calling on actors to contribute to the practical part of the course through acting and make-belief, is not unique for police academies. It is used in various branches of education in social services, for subjects where direct contact between

official and customer in public environments is part of the job. This includes conductors, refuse collectors, social services counter clerks, and foresters.

Like police men, foresters are usually trained to deal with people carrying guns. Poachers, usually. In the past, too many foresters got killed because they approached these types too easily. They did not adhere to the safety regulations and approached foreign vehicles convinced that poachers were reasonable people and would not shoot at fellow human beings. In all kinds of practice situations, the part of poacher is played by an actor using a clear description of the part and the actions involved.

Actors usually play the bad guy in these situations, the criminals, or the problem cases. As part of a policeman's training, an actor will be told to rob a bank. He fails and is surrounded. Panicking he decides to take hostages. In this way, policemen learn about negotiation strategies. Similar negotiations are conducted by future social workers in their practical training in crisis intervention. Somebody demolishes his own house. The police cannot act, because the man is no criminal, it is just that his girlfriend broke up with him. He does, however, cause the neighbourhood inconvenience. That is why the social worker is called in to solve the situation.

Social problems of a totally different nature take place in the business industry. Here too, tests are used, with an important role for actors. Issues that can be tested are, for instance, the qualities required in an advertisement. A salesman can be asked, during his interview, to embark on a fictional sales talk with a customer, played by a professional actor. It appears as if employees want to break through the facade of a good talk and want to find out whom they are dealing with. A diploma and employment history, after all, are no guarantees that the future employee fits in the corporate culture. That is why companies, more and more, use assessment centres both for interviews and for promotions resulting from career development. These assessment centres are special areas in which the work situation is imitated as realistically as possible. The future employee gets a number of assignments which he has to carry out in this 'social laboratory' situation. Co-actors in this social game can be actual (prospective) colleagues or actors or actresses. In this game situation, it is determined if the person has the potential to be a good performer in a certain job. The results of these game situations are recorded on video tape and can be evaluated with the department where the employee would be placed in the future. This method can also be used to test someone's stress immunity in problematic situations, his creative and positive dealing with problems, and ultimately, it can be used to test if the right person is placed in the right job.

Illusions for sale: You imagine, we act

In other areas too, play is used to come to reconstructions that are as close to reality as possible. The reconstructions can be of a historical nature, or can be

pure fiction and fantasy. The purpose of the creation of such a reconstruction can be an educational one or just entertainment. It is usually a combination of both.

"Drama has played a didactic role in museums for a number of years. The knowledge that acted-out historical situations can be enlightening for the public is as old as theatre itself. The thought that museums could use an addition to their selection of materials came from the United States" (Coppens 1991:3). The issue is not just using play and professional actors in amusement parks such as Disney Land, but also in so-called theme parks and open-air museums of which the Zuider Zee Museum is the best Dutch example. In addition to old trades being demonstrated in a reconstructed context, and in costume, and to historical objects being placed in a clear context by using them in an acted-out situation, people working in this kind of museum help to establish an 'image' of the culture of a lost society.

The actors play roles representing people who may or may not have existed and who have become characters in realistically reconstructed surroundings. The acting of the professional actors is psychological-realistic. The language and objects used, as well as the costumes, are as lifelike as possible, in order to support the authenticity and credibility of the character. The actors use a script, memorize short scenes, yet, also have to be able to improvise freely with the material offered because they are addressed by the audience. Interaction takes place between audience and actors, because of which the actor has to flexibly adjust to his assignment.

Anything is possible. This is supported by the following text, taken from a brochure on the Zuider Zee Museum[5], which starts with the question: "Have you ever met a fisherman from Urk, from 1905? It seems impossible. And yet it can happen. In the Zuider Zee Museum, you may run into Dutch historical characters such as Riekelt Weerstand or the widow Marretje. Go back in time and relive the past in the Zuider Zee Museum. Try to imagine you are living in a period of a hundred years ago; in the open-air museum, the industriousness of old times prevails. Craftsmen such as the smith, the cooper, and the fish curer are busy performing their daily tasks. Ships are punted through the museum's canals. Visitors can sail along. And the captain from the fishing vessel TX 11, from the island of Texel, regularly sails the seas in the summer. People who enjoy sailing can join him. Traditional costume is not just there to be looked at, it can also be tried on. Children can dress up as much as they want. And in the new expansion, a small school, you can follow classes in writing.

While in the United States, Umberto Eco (1986) often wondered about the American's approach to reality. Even though Americans strive constantly for the real thing, they buy illusions: cunning and guile. This is because, on the one hand, they want to experience the excitement inherent in the real thing, while, on the other hand, they want to minimize the risks involved. The amusement parks in the United States perfectly illustrate this. Roller coasters and ghost trains provide pure physical excitement with minimal risks and at low costs.

The same principle of 'realistic, yet not quite real' is apparent in the wilderness parks and a number of open-air museums, as it is in Madame Tussaud's, the museum of wax statues. Often, it is too real to be true. Part of the visitor's enjoyment lies, therefore, in the virtuosity with which the statues have been so realistically produced. The same goes for the puppets in Disney land, whose moves are so human that we forget they are only robots[6].

One step further on the road to imitating the real world is the rebuilding of a cultural setting filled with actors who act out life in that particular culture. Villages are rebuilt and filled with people. The worlds of fantasy characters such as Peter Pan, the Wizard of Oz, etc. are also imitated. The purpose of most of these imitations is still entertainment. Yet, there are also communities that are rebuilt and populated with actors who, as authentically as possible, enact the habits and customs of other cultures for educational purposes. This provides a new job market for both actors and anthropologists.

After all, research needs to be conducted into authentic actions and wording, into knowledge of artifacts and processes of transfer, into ways of greeting and other forms of social interaction, and even into smells, cooking habits, and recipes. To Schechner (1983:201), authenticity is a matter of convention, and rightly so. In relation to theatre, authenticity in acting means the imitation, more or less, of interpersonal relationships in a psychologically realistic manner. This is a view of authenticity which closely fits the kind of hyper-realistic educational open-air museums, populated with actors.

A task can be found for the anthropologist in what Schechner (1983:164-237) calls the 'restoration of behaviour'. The ethnography is replaced by portrayal, imitation and immersion, rather than by an exhibition. The anthropologist becomes the restorer of behaviour, the scriptwriter of 'living history', or the dramaturge of lost cultures.

In the Netherlands, actors are used in open-air museums and amusement parks, for instance in the 'castle park' 'Het Land van Ooit', near Drunen. They act in park and theatre acts, devised for the entertainment industries. The more anthropological approach to restored behaviour in an imitated reality is used in the Dutch 'Zuider Zee Museum'. And even in 1991, a German military historian and archaeologist found his way to the Dutch newspapers with a simulation game which he hoped to use for a historical reconstruction of the way in which Roman soldiers encamped and fought at the northern frontiers (alongside the Dutch rivers) of the Roman Empire, about twenty centuries ago.

Schechner (1983:194-211) provides us with the best example of 'restored behaviour' in his discussion of educational amusement parks in the United States. These amusement parks are more than historical reconstructions of the colonial period, 19th century Victorian life, or a town in the Wild West. The parks are populated with actors in authentic (historically 'original') costumes, who behave like the then inhabitants: Quakers, pilgrims from the Mayflower, or cowboys. For the audience, this is the most literal sense of re-creation. The issue at hand

here is what Eco (1986:13) called the hyper-reality of American imagination, the real thing. With this denial of a performance within a performance we approach one of the most extreme boundaries of what can, culturally speaking, still be called a performance: the wish or need to deny that the performance is a reconstruction of a historical reality.

Final remarks

Creating an atmosphere requires imagery. That is why it may happen that in the solarium cave in one of the many Dutch 'Centre Parcs', one can hear crickets chirp, the sound of the tropics, and the walls are painted in designs derived from the pre-historic caves of Lascaux. In this 'subtropical paradise' one can go to the solarium and then relax and enjoy a drink at the pool bar Aloha, seated on wicker chairs, under the palm trees. Yet, when it cools down at night, and you want to light the fire in the bungalow, you are not allowed to use fragrant pine logs, but only special logs made of pressed fibre. You cannot use real wood, it would leave too much dirt.

A lot of fake is needed to achieve genuine and real relaxation, romance, and pleasure. Imitation appears to be an effective approach of reality, to mediate between our images and our expectations linked to these and the ultimate fulfilment of our needs and desires, in an economically affordable way. In the North Atlantic world, where the social system and economy are based on consumption, material longing has come to symbolize that what is lacking or what we miss. Ultimately, it is about addiction to whichever stimulant.

According to Mauriras-Bousquet (1991:8), play is the desire for the object with which one plays, a longing which does not go beyond the here and now, and which passes irrevocably. The longing linked to play finds satisfaction in itself and does not make demands on the world outside. The longing that evokes play is a desire to live.

In play, the mechanisms that determine the organization of reality are different from the ones in reality itself. Scientists, for instance, the most serious analysts in the prevailing social life in the North Atlantic world, use principles of thought that aim to make an inventory of, organize, and explain experiences according to an explanation model which is based on cause and effect, on a chronological development process, first this, then that. But there are other principles for organizing reality which are not necessarily derived from the rules of logic. This approach of reality is of a more associative nature. According to this principle, objects that one feels, emotionally, belong together are put into the same category, even if they are totally different, logically speaking, and even separated in time and space.

The odd thing is that every right-minded person in countries within the Euro-American realm of culture will ascribe thinking by way of association to children, artists, women, and 'primitive' nations. And all this while a randomly chosen

national Dutch newspaper of December 18, 1991, published three articles which show, in so many words, how important fake is to us[7]. Not only regarding the increasing number of fake Christmas trees imported from China, or the imitation of 'living history' on a VOC-ship in Amsterdam, but also regarding an article on the front page. The article mentions that on a certain day, the red flag adorned with a hammer and a sickle was still flying over the Kremlin, where Gorbachev was seated. Yet, as we have known for a long time, the flying of the flag is caused by a big wind machine placed on the roof.

The difference between real and artificial wind is no longer important. What is important, is that the flag keeps flying over the Kremlin. Because, when it stops Russia is supposed to be out of breath.

Thus it appears that in our technology-oriented society, we can still reasonably control our 'toys', and with it the symbolic meaning of signs of nature, as with the use of a machine to make a 'live' flag fly. However, it is still different with the manipulation of people. To get an even better grip on this, the 'role play' situation is more and more used as a social laboratory. The anthropologist does the preparatory work by studying the corporate culture of a company, without directly testing his results against his own ideas. The theatre specialist, surrounded by a group of professional actors, tries out the anthropologist's results in an artificial game situation.

It may not yet be reality in some cases, but it is certainly possible in the future. Current experiments have shown, however, that calling in professional actors in game and entertainment situations stimulates people to establish images and to use their creativity. It is also clear that using play in training of skills in service-oriented, risk-bearing professions, has the ability to translate anxiety (for something indefinable) into concrete risks, through which a sense of professional insecurity is taken away.

Part IV

Policy

14.
Internationalizing Dutch higher education and research with respect to the performing arts

Performing arts are universal, which is why they seem to lend themselves easily to comparative research. Before World War II this type of research, especially in practice, was hardly feasible except to a happy few. Nowadays travelling and studying is no longer the prerogative of a restricted number of anthropologists, which is largely due to the reasonable ticket fares for world-wide travelling. To North Atlantic scientists, artists and students this has meant more frequent visits to distant cultures with the purpose of studying theatrical forms of expression. Anthropologists, directors, choreographers, musicians, actors, scholars, dramaturgists etc. have frequently availed themselves of this better opportunity in the past decades.

Time and again, however, it appears that arrangements for scientists, artists and students from developing countries are insufficient for them to study performing arts or to practice skills in Europe or the United States. In addition to a lack of funds or exchange programmes, the visitors from the Third World are faced with language barriers. Higher education in the North, usually, has an extremely specialized infrastructure which is not always geared to the reception of visitors from abroad. The latter applies not so much to the more physical courses, such as dance or mime, but more to courses for actors, directors or teachers. The barriers on a university level are even higher. The intellectual nature of studies such as anthropology or drama, which strongly revolve round the spoken or written word, aggravates the issue.

Internationalizing of the Netherlands fine arts training

HBO institutes, known in Dutch as *hogescholen*, offer a relatively new type of professional education, known as 'higher professional training' (HBO). Although the predecessors of the present institutions in some cases date back to the 17th century, most count their history in decades. Over the years the number of HBO institutes grew to more than 400, some of them quite small. In 1983 the Dutch government started a merger process, which up to now has reduced the number of institutions to about 90. The main characteristic of HBO education is that the curriculum combines theoretical education of high academic standards with mandatory practical work outside the institution.

The internationalizing trend in higher professional training is actively stimulated by the Netherlands Organization for International Co-operation in Higher Education (Nuffic). By 'the internationalization of higher education' is

meant that Netherlands higher education institutes are in favour of establishing collaborative relations in the area of education, training, studies or research with similar institutions abroad. Such collaboration might involve joint research activities, but also exchange programmes for students and/or lecturers.

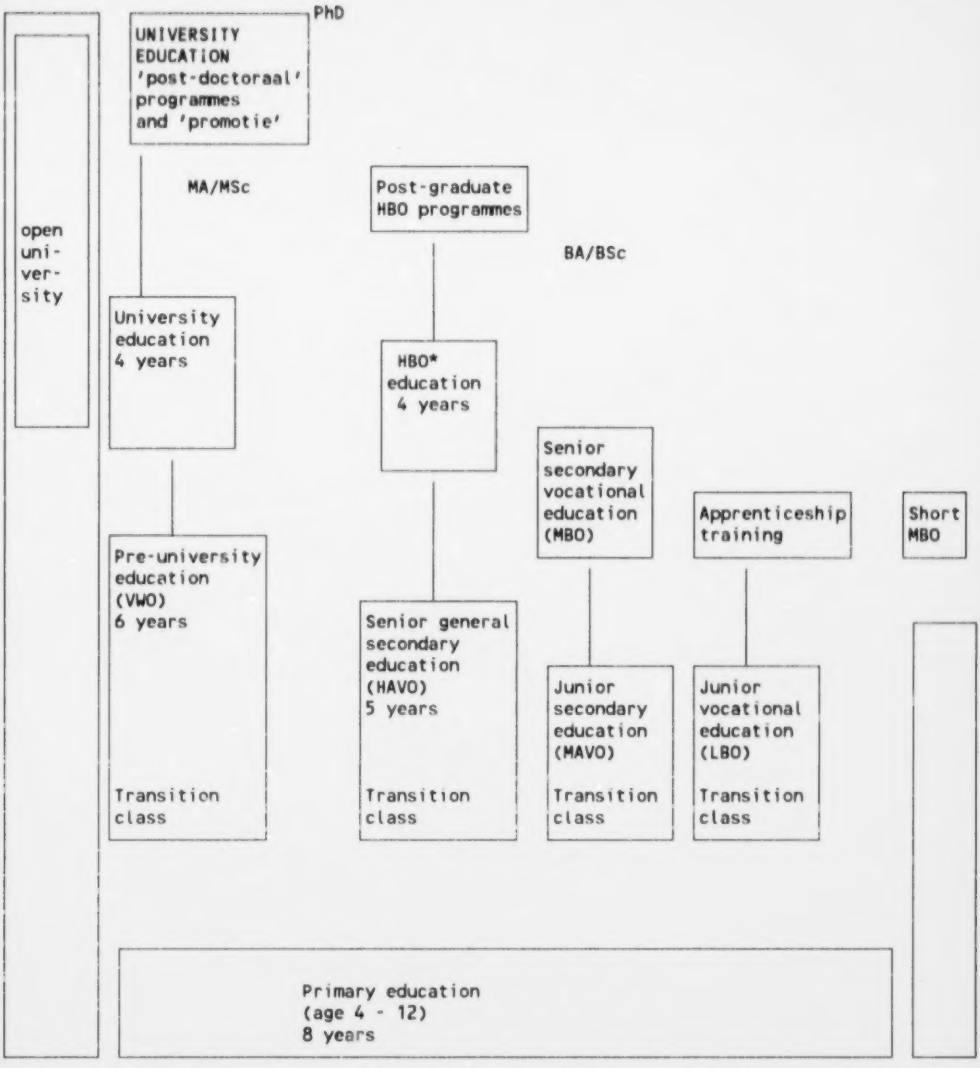
Structural collaborative relations between Dutch private organizations and Indonesian educational institutions are promoted by, for example, the Foundation for Indonesian Modern Art. According to Groustra (1989:36) the chief aim of the foundation is to achieve an exchange of knowledge about contemporary art between Indonesia and the Netherlands. For this purpose the initial contacts have been established in the late eighties, linking up this foundation, the Fine Arts Department of the Technological Institute of Bandung (ITB) and the Fine Arts Academy of Yogyakarta.

Besides practical fine arts education, the North-South exchange pays attention to collecting, preserving, restoring and exhibiting works of art. The Netherlands Reinwardt Academy offered an international course in museum science in this context. The course is primarily intended for students who are already working in museums or related institutions, or who have professional experience in the museum field. Lecturers are presented on the subjects of museological theory, educational design, registration and documentation techniques, museum management, marketing and public relations in museums, and field research.

Of all the fine arts colleges in the Netherlands the Faculty of Theatre and Drama of the Utrecht School of the Arts (HKU) in particular attempts to achieve structural co-operation with developing countries. Exchange programmes for lecturers and students among this faculty and institutes in Nicaragua and the Philippines have demonstrated, according to Zwamborn (1988:14), to the Philippines to get practical training as drama teachers in popular theatre companies. Occasionally there are groups coming over from Latin America and Asia, though one cannot yet speak of a true exchange of students between the Netherlands and the Philippines.

Things are different where the Rotterdam conservatory is concerned. This institute offers, besides western music, Spanish, Surinam and Indian music. To ensure a high level of education foreign teachers are regularly recruited to come to Rotterdam. The Indian music programme was designed in collaboration with the Netherlands co-ordinator of the International Society for Traditional Arts Research (ISTAR; New Delhi). The initiative is funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Culture. In addition, as Van der Horst (1988:7) reports, the conservatory seeks to establish relations with Erasmus University (Rotterdam) to stimulate ethnomusicological research beside the practical training.

In spite of these institutional efforts, the fact remains that the Netherlands are a relatively inaccessible country to foreign students, teachers and artists in the performing arts. The main reason is that it lacks a clear co-ordinating centre dealing with applications for training, placements, practicals, guest-lecturing and funding. Formally speaking, such applications are to be directed to Nuffic.



* Note: Dutch government publications in English refer to HBO (hoger beroepsonderwijs) as Higher Vocational Education. The HBO institutes themselves prefer the term Higher Professional Education.

Figure 6: *Diagram of the Dutch education system*

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Yet most applications are made directly to training institutes, faculties and departments, through fellow-artists and fellow-researchers. Apart from these problems, acquiring the necessary funds is difficult. Except the regulations contained in the cultural treaties, there are no regular financial resources or scholarships for performing artists aspiring to visit the Netherlands as a guest-lecturer, a student or on study leave. There are obviously fewer facilities for arts and fine arts students than there are for scientists.

It is lonely at the top

The multi-cultural North Atlantic societies have seen a development in which specialists are of vital importance. Specialism is carried to such an extent, that experts specialize in more and more minute areas. The educational system and the labour market are fully geared to training professional specialists, in the area of development of theories, as well as in the practical area. This is inherent in the western view of labour. Everything you undertake to make a living, you do for your profession. The rest are leisure activities, and therefore hobbies.

According to Kapteyn (1990:37), art and culture do not suffer from a lack of interest, especially not from the side of science. After all, when they found that the arts were not restricted to languages, the notion of 'culture' could be used to describe a variety of research and educational activities. Not only did various universities establish new courses called 'cultural studies', but faculties of languages and cultures started to join forces with other faculties such as anthropology or non-western sociology. A good example of this is the Centre for non-Western Studies (CNWS) in Leiden[1].

This kind of initiative was to be expected, however. Deetman, (then) Minister of Education and Sciences (O&W), had, after all, indicated that he would like to eliminate these small departments of yet another ethnic language and literature. In the Netherlands, there is, sometimes, a bit of latitude between a 'wild idea' and its implementation. So, a committee was established to report to the minister how cost could be cut in the, relatively expensive field of Higher Education. Deetman approached Frits Staal, professor in Oriental studies, as consultant on the 'small languages' in the Netherlands.

According to Staal (1990:13), 'small languages' does not refer to 'small' subjects, but to a number of subjects in the faculty of arts at Dutch universities, that have only a small number of students. Included are some Oriental or Asian languages, such as Korean or Tibetan, but also European languages such as Basque or Hungarian. In spite of the fact that these departments offered courses in that particular language and literature, as well as in the history and culture of the societies speaking that particular language, they still attracted only a 'small' number of students.

According to Staal (1990:14), it was once said that in the Netherlands you should be able to study any one of the estimated 5200 languages of the world.

Both Staal and Deetman, former Minister of Education and Sciences, regarded this as a luxury. In brief, professors and senior university lecturers (UHD's) should not just share their knowledge with their limited number of students, but they should create an increased supply for students who want to study a society through culture rather than language.

This observation was not restricted to arts. The committee also, automatically, commented on the 'small social sciences', that is, on the limited number of students enroling in courses such as anthropology or non-western sociology. However, according to Staal (1990:14), without history, sociology finds itself in a vacuum. This pleads for following the French and referring to the humanities *humanoria* rather than to the 'arts', to which the Germans keep referring as *Geisteswissenschaften*.

The ethnographer takes up a special place in the varied group of social scientists who travel to faraway cultures. With the help of the written word and the camera, he aims to describe or depict life in foreign cultures as objectively as possible. An ethnographer is really a journalist trained in anthropology. By using the written word and a camera, the ethnographer mediates between the cultures he became acquainted with and the North Atlantic world. However, there is a snag somewhere. Piles of notes or reels of celluloid mean nothing to the western consumer. The raw material needs to be adapted into products ready for consumption. That process brings out the artist in the ethnographer: the writer or the film maker. The adaptation of the material shows the vision of the ethnographer. This is how the paradox of the objective collector of facts and the subjective editor of those same facts is established.

That is why such programmed specialist courses are no longer fully satisfactory. This can be observed in practice, where more and more specialists, out of personal or professional interest, can be seen to dabble in somebody else's 'backyard'. Interdisciplinary research has long been popular, and the result is that cultural manifestations are studied from various perspectives.

Moreover, more and more young theoretically trained researchers, beside their university training in non-western performing arts, felt the need for practical training, on location, in their field. So, there is a growing interest in 'learning by doing' as an experiential form of learning. This applies to those performing techniques that are part of their research. Participatory observation is translated into 'observational participation'. Learning by doing becomes part of researching by doing research. This is participatory observation in the widest sense: getting acquainted with something by familiarizing oneself with it.

Hence, the performing arts are not only studied 'from the outside in', but also 'from the inside out'. The current researcher studies the practical aspects of the performing arts by learning the skills.

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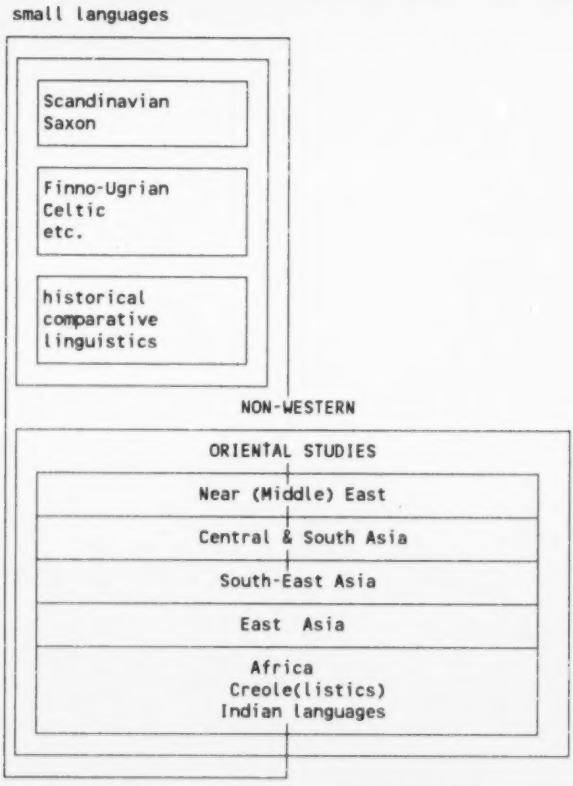

faculty of arts
linguistics
languages
archaeology
history
art history
etc.

other faculties
sociology
anthropology
law
philosophy
theology
etc.

Figure 7: *Staal's "De kleine letteren".*
Source: *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 114, 39, p. 14.

The philosophy behind this concerns the comparison of the researcher's outsider's view to that of the participants from that particular culture. Actors, musicians and dancers all have a reasonable understanding of what their colleagues are talking about, whereas the outsider can get lost completely. A dancing anthropologist better understands a dancing participant, than an anthropologist who is not

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familiar with a dancer's motives. This would plead for a process of experiential learning for the researcher.

The cultural dimension of development co-operation

The central objective of the Netherlands development co-operation policy is to combat structural poverty. This implies that theatre is not the main concern in the policy, but rather basic survival. Nevertheless policy lines acknowledge the need for supporting cultural identity in the developing countries, besides giving economic aid.

In Dutch policy culture is not seen as immutable or sacred, but as being in a state of constant flux. Among other things culture has been defined as "Expressions (...) that are preserved by international effort (temples), promoted (theatre), or exchanged (products of visual art and literature)". This is a literal quotation from a report which was prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. The report, named *A World of Difference, A New Framework for Cooperation in the 1990s* is based upon a firm belief that any kind of cooperation with a society for the purpose of developing that society requires a certain level of cultural communication. That which the Western World has to offer the Third World: its technology, its know-how, its political and economic thought and its skill in organization, are obviously expressions of the western culture which, by whatever transactions of aid or trade, find their way to the receiving community. The report *A World of Difference* (1990:192) makes it clear that Dutch development specialists, rather than thinking of culture as something that is irrelevant or even an obstacle to development, see it as the very basis of sustainable development. As such, the report argues, economic and technological development cannot be separated from the culture in which they occur.

"Development activities should therefore link up with processes of cultural change. Culture is not regarded (...) as synonymous with the national society, but as the attribute of communities which may be national, regional, local, or tribal. Cultural cooperation is not, therefore, confined to the level of the national state, but can occur at higher (international) or lower (local) levels. The call for a more pluralist society, for greater scope for grassroots initiative, for a greater input of local knowledge and expertise is also a plea for the recognition of endogenous development process" (*A World of Difference* 1990:192).

Therefore, it was a felicitous idea to name 1988 the start of the UN World Decade for Cultural Development (WDCD), whose rewards may hopefully be reaped by 1997. The naming of this decade has re-kindled the never-ending discussion on the concept of culture, a discussion which goes beyond the familiar confusion of tongues concerning art and culture. The preservation of monuments representing the cultural heritage is the easiest matter to finance. This refers to national culture. However, the preservation of local cultural expressions is less

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easy to define. As a rule governments feel that it is for the country in question to decide on this.

There could be a more structural approach to the cultural dimension of development co-operation, for example by way of collaborative relations between educational and research institutes in the South. Examples of existing efforts are the SEAMEO Project in Archeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA)[2] for South-East Asia, and the Union of African Performing Artists (UAPA) for the African continent. These are firmly structured networks protecting a number of shared interests within and without the region.

Naturally such collaborative relations could be established between the North and the South. Examples of collaboration might be an exchange of students and lecturers, of curricula and performances, but also jointly organized study meetings, symposiums and festivals. Apart from these obvious forms of collaboration, one might think of achieving partnerships in internationalized study programmes or internationalized study centres.

Examples of these are the programme of the Drama and Theatre Department of Hawaii University (Manoa) and the East-West Centre, equally in Hawaii. Both these training and research institutes focus on the countries surrounding the Pacific. Being a research institute dealing with intercultural and transcultural communication, the East-West Centre has performing arts as a sideline. As a contrast, the Drama and Theatre Department of Hawaii University offers a unique Asian Theatre programme. Conform to the US higher education model, it provides practical as well as theoretical theatre training.

This Hawaiian programme is unique, being compact in design and offering stage-directing, dance and acting in all manner of South and South-East Asian theatre traditions, be they performative (practical) or theoretical, exploratory or specializing. On top of that, it offers an intercultural educational setting in which the majority of registered students originate from the cultures in question.

Netherlands relations extending from the educational and professional sector

It is a remarkable fact that in the Netherlands the one most involved with theatre outside the North Atlantic world are scholars rather than anthropologists or dramaturgists. As was remarked in the previous section, the best explored research area is Indonesia. That is why the Department of Languages and Culture of South-East Asia and Oceania (Leiden State University) yields a regular output of theatre researchers. Apart from various research activities into Balinese culture and the performing arts, the department carries out an educational programme, thus encouraging a new generation of researchers.

So far performing arts studies within this department have been restricted to Java and Bali. Approach and methodology are obviously field-oriented, and anthropological rather than literary in nature. Participation here involves more than just witnessing how the performing arts are transmitted and practised in the

area. The researcher actually attempts to master the arts, by the method of learning by experiencing ('learning by doing')[3].

This didactics of 'learning by doing' is the most remarkable feature in the philosophy of this department in its emphasis on empirical studies and field-work. However, performing is perceived as a side activity, practised at the service of the academic research. In the view of this department, learning by doing in the performing arts is a vital foundation for acquiring knowledge about the culture and the medium of expression which is being studied. Such experience is indispensable to a scholar. This can also be said for some Dutch musicologists that have studied Indonesian music (mainly *gamelan*), and are capable to reproduce the music they study.

None of these examples maintained official collaborative rel. tions. Any contacts extending from the Netherlands to Indonesian dance, music and drama academies (Academi Seni Tar Indonesia: ASTI) were on the whole individually based. Dutch students would spend some time at an Indonesian art academy. An exception to this rule was a Dutch delegation attending a seminar organized by the Indonesian Institute Seni Indonesia (ISI) in November 1987, as reported by Van der Horst (1988: 28)[4]. Subject of the seminar was ISI's music training. It resulted in some recommendations and advice directed to the minister of education. It was decided to send some teaching staff to ISI under supervision, to invite ISI-teachers over to the Netherlands for additional training, and to donate teaching aids. Co-ordination of the exchange is fulfilled by the ISI project group, containing representatives from the Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague conservatories[5].

Final remarks

Theatre beyond the borders of the North Atlantic region is highly physical and expressive in nature. Performances reveal a mixture of several stage disciplines. The dances are highly narrative, expressive and mimic. They draw on extensive literary traditions. Performances are conducted in all manner of locations. The transfer of performance disciplines was traditionally carried out from master to apprentice. As it concerned a family trade, skill transfer usually took place from father to son or from uncle to nephew. Apart from this individual training, more and more types of school training came into being in temples or at courts.

The introduction of formal education systems implies a greater extent of class-formation and formalization in fine arts training, and in the performing arts among them. In most countries fine arts training is regarded as a form of higher professional training, to follow the completion of secondary education.

The increasing formalization of performing arts training causes cultural pessimists - among whom academic researchers - to speak of a decline in quality of the transfer of indigenous knowledge and skills, consequently, of the eventually professional artistry and the cultural performances. Optimists - among

whom practitioners - recognize in this formalization of 'learning by doing' the road to an interactive meeting-place between North and South, West and East. The central organization of this type of education is expected to facilitate the exchange of training, techniques and professionalism, and create openings for the inter-cultural training of performing artists.

For that matter, the distinction between university education (WO) and the more practically oriented higher professional education (HBO) stands in the way of the appreciation, in the Netherlands, of learning by doing (experiential learning) as a research technique. In higher (vocational) education, which is based on the American educational system, theory (Arts) and practice (Fine Arts) are easily combined. The Drama Departments in the United States are, according to Schoenmakers (1989:50), in fact, a combination of the European university institutes for drama and the higher vocational education courses for actors and directors. Theory and practice are combined.

However, people who have received a university training, there appear to be more possibilities of financing. They also seem to know their way to sponsoring and subsidies better. This closely follows Jan-Joris Lamers' statements (cf. Van Essel 1980:28-31) about the prevailing image of the difference between the scientific and the artistic research and its results for subsidizing. "This is because most people think that when an artist does research, he does *ad hoc* research. He has a white canvas in front of him, and he is given some money for paint. Then he starts his project and suddenly it turns out to be a wonderful painting. Then back to another white canvas. Hardly anyone outside art realises that there is a connection between the paintings".

Something that does not appear fully from this chapter, is that the learning environment determines the success rate in the many individual learning routes of students, especially in relation to a stay abroad. Take for example the Centre for non-western Studies (CNWS) in Leiden. Leiden University has a long history of South-East Asia studies and a strong network of contacts in 'the field'. Experts and students from 'overseas' regularly visit Leiden. This means that a centre, such as the CNWS is the perfect learning environment, which optimally provides students with the chance and facilities to make a trip to Indonesia successful.

15.
Playing in a sandpit: international popular theatre meeting in Namibia

In Namibia the dunes along the coast are so wide that people call the area a desert; the Namib Desert. A dusty plain with sparse vegetation separates the Namib from the Kalahari. The Kalahari continues into the neighbouring country of Botswana. In the North and on the Central Plateau Namibia has more fertile strips of land. This is where the capital of Windhoek is situated. Windhoek, very German in its appearance, is a beautiful little town. Together with the strategic port of Walvis Bay, these place names are reminiscent of books like "The Boys from the Bontekoe" (*De Jongens van de Bontekoe*). These are names made up by whites. And, in spite of the official independence of 1989, whites are still in control, socially and economically, in Namibia.

Nsekuye Bizimana (1989) wondered if Africans should imitate whites in everything. Bizimana is of South African origin and works in adult education. Southern Africa is in turmoil, it is an area where great developments are taking place. Last summer an international conference was organized, south of Windhoek, by, among others, the African Association for Adult Education and Literacy (AALAE). At this conference participants discussed the future role of the use of theatre as an educative instrument in the field of adult education. The end of the conference, which lasted fourteen days, provided a clear answer to Bizimana's question : No, Africans need to find their own way in processes of social change and adult education.

Namibia and its culture

Namibia, since 1989 one of the youngest independent states in the world, consists of a colourful mosaic of cultural and ethnic groups. A country in Southern Africa, 22 times the size of the Netherlands, it numbers a population of 1.3 million souls. Given that the borders of Namibia are political rather than cultural, there are peoples with relatives in neighbouring countries such as Angola and Zambia. An example of this are the Tswana, a people of which the majority lives in the country of the same name, Botswana.

Most people in Namibia live in the northern part of the country, bordering on Angola. The ground here is extremely fertile, partly because of the rivers that run through it. The largest ethnic groups, such as the Ovambos and Wambos (constituting about half of the population), the Kavangos and the Caprivians live in this area. In spite of their numeric majority, the peoples mentioned above, do

not belong to the oldest and most authentic population of Namibia. These, as we know, were the Bushmen (the San).

Petroglyphs by the Bushmen have been found, that date back to more than 28,000 years ago. The San lived in the northern area of Namibia, around the village of Grootfontein, among other places. Bushmen, originally, were excellent hunters and collectors. However, as the country was mapped by white pioneers and cultivated for the sake of agriculture and cattle breeding, the Bushmen were forced to adapt their way of life. The language of the San is related to that of the Hottentots or the Namas and differs in many ways from the Bantu languages used by surrounding nations.

The Hottentots owe this denigratory name to the white Boers. They live in the extreme south of Namibia and call themselves Namas. Linguistically, they are related to the Damaras. They live in the area around the Orange river and are cattle breeders who, since time immemorial, are the enemies of the northern Hereros because of their cattle. Until the 19th century, according to Bayer (1990:27), both nations fought out many conflicts and wars about the ownership of grassland around and on the Central Plateau.

The Hereros live in the north of Namibia, in the inhospitable Koakaland. The best-known Herero people are the Himba. They, too, are cattle breeders by origin. In their culture, the size of live stock is proportionate to the status of the family within the society. "Many currently live and work on the white man's farm. The Herero women often wear traditional clothing; colourful skirts and a typical pointed cap. In the clothing, influences of Victorian traditional costume can be found, which was once introduced in Herero society by the wife of a European missionary " (Bayer 1990:27).

The Ovambos, Wambos and Kavangos in the North are originally from the lake area in East Africa. The three groups are ethnically and linguistically closely related. During the mass migrations in the middle of the 16th century they settled between the Kunene and the Kavango river. They live mainly off agriculture and stock breeding and are self-supporting. They live in extended family circles in a number of huts around a *kraal*. The peoples are divided into tribes with their own chieftain. Among the Kavangos, leadership is passed on through the mother's line of descent. This also goes for the Masubia and the Mafwe, the two most important tribes of the Caprivians; Lozi speaking nations with related cultural tribesmen in West Zambia.

In view of the fact that almost all land that is fertile or rich in minerals is owned by a small white minority (0.2 % of the population), almost all native sections of the population had to change their life style in the course of the last century. This is true for the hunting Bushmen as well as for the cattle breeding Hottentots, the Hereros, Ovambos and Caprivians. The men, in particular, often leave their community for a long period of time to work on the farms and in the mines that are managed by white people. Contract labour, such as this, has, in the course of time, drawn heavily on the disorder of black family life. As a result

of long separation from their own wives, the mining areas offered fertile ground for prostitution.

It is not exceptional for a man to have a second wife in the town where he works. This does not make life easier on the wife who is left behind. Not only is she solely responsible for the housekeeping and the raising of the children, but also for the maintenance of the land. This, in turn, creates cultural tension in an area where tending the family's cattle is a man's job. Now that this work has been taken over by women, it seriously affects the deeply rooted cultural values and it causes the usual misunderstandings and conflicts. Male identity suffers at home.

The absence of fathers also creates problems in the bringing up of the children. Boys, in particular, badly miss a father who serves as an educator and role model. This makes itself felt in school results. The percentage of drop-outs among children is high. Education initiatives from Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) are the necessary addition to the prevailing school system. They not only deal with cursory forms of adult education for illiterate adults who missed their chances for schooling in the past, but also with teaching people how to read and write, mother and child care and agricultural information. It is in this area, that theatre as a small scale educative medium proved to be effective.

One of the nationally organized NGO's which stands for adult education is the Bricks collective. Together with the Namibia Development Trust (NDT), the Bricks Collective started a national network of NGO's and training activities across Namibia, in which cultural activities take up a special position. This cultural programme was launched under the name of Platform 2000. It tries to bring Namibian artists and cultural workers closer together, and offers projects within schooling and outside, particularly in the area of the performing arts, among which are music, dance, puppetry and theatre.

International Drama Meeting

In 1983 some 70 drama teachers, development workers and actors from all over the world got together in Koitta, a small Hindu village 40 miles north of Dacca. The participants from Bangladesh were part-time actors and actresses of the Aranyak theatre group, Proshika animators and peasants running theatre groups in their own villages. The foreigners were all social and cultural workers and came from Africa, Asia, Canada and the Caribbean islands. They were working in small-scale, and therefore inexpensive awareness-raising projects. All participants were practically involved with progressive and politically oriented popular theatre, somehow or other. Therefore there was plenty of experience to fill twelve days with a lively exchange of objectives, working locations, approaches and such.

This International Popular Theatre Dialogue - as the meeting was called - was not opened by some Minister of Culture or Education, for a change, but by a landless labourer from one of the local theatre groups.

A concrete result of this meeting was the foundation of the International Popular Theatre Alliance (IPTA), an informal network of popular dramatists, whose office was to be moved every three years. In 1984 the Asian region was willing to host and administrate the network for some three years. The office was located at the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA). The initiative received sympathy and modest support from the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) in Canada.

The Philippine based secretariat was concerned with a permanent exchange of information and experience. This was effected by the International Popular Theatre Newsletter, and by means of conferences and seminars. It was in line of the Alliance to promote the exchange of teachers and animators working in the field of popular theatre in the various regions. Finally, people involved with making activating theatre are constantly running the risk of being imprisoned or banished on political grounds. Consequently the IPTA-secretariat played an active part in presenting political petitions and declarations of solidarity.

From August 14, 1991, once again, an International Popular Theatre Workshop took place in Rehoboth, a small village 80 kilometres south of Windhoek. As was the first meeting in Koitta (Bangladesh) in 1982, this event received technical assistance of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and was organized in close co-operation with the government of Namibia. The participants consisted of some 40 Namibian and 35 foreign guests.

The main issues during those two weeks were the development and transfer of the methodology and the techniques of development supporting theatre, or, in African terms, of Theatre for Development. Theatre for development as a special form of popular theatre within the field of adult education is meant to be a community focused problem-solving cultural intervention strategy, in which the process of creating a play is educationally speaking as valuable as the product: the performance.

The Namibian participants consisted of people working in the field of adult education, literacy, primary health care, public information and cultural entertainment. The majority of foreign guests was also drawn from these sectors.

To make the event into an informal, reflective and practical meeting, the seminar consisted of three parts. The reflective part came first: a meeting in which the country or region 'representatives' gave presentations about the most recent developments in popular theatre in their part of the world. Then the more practical part followed, in which eight groups of participants entered into a 'theatre for development' experiment, joined by part of the host-community of Rehoboth. Finally, the last part of the two weeks was taken up by a festival of theatre performances from Southern Africa.

The objectives of this happening were:

1. To train artists and community workers in participatory research and artistic skills.
2. To give support to Namibian cultural workers to launch some national organization.
3. To review the work of popular theatre / popular education internationally.
4. To promote creation of further regional and international linkages among popular theatre and popular education organizations.
5. To strengthen the link between Namibian adult educators and adult educators from within the region and outside.
6. To hold a two day cultural festival of representative groups from within the Southern African region.

The conclusion to this event was a party for all participants in the shape of a modest theatre festival in Windhoek, where mainly groups from Southern Africa performed. The ANC, for instance, brought a performance of *Amandla*, other performances were done by the Zimbabwe Association for Community Theatres (ZACT), the Zambian National Theatre Arts Association (ZANTAA) and the Bricks Community Project from Namibia.

Reflection and practice

The first two days were used for sharing information about popular theatre in the different regions and countries that were represented during the workshop. Through brief presentations attention was paid to topics such as history of popular theatre, the organizations that use popular theatre and the philosophy behind it, the techniques, the financing and fund raising, new trends, etc.

Another day was spent on reviving networks; regional networks as well as the International Popular Theatre Alliance (IPTA), founded in Bangladesh in 1983. At the same time, moral support was to be given to the foundation of a Namibian popular theatre network.

After two days of discussions, five days were spent working in the neighbourhoods of the rural town of Rehoboth, an ethnic enclave of coloureds in the middle of Namibia. The work consisted of participatory research into local social problem areas and cultural manifestations. This research, ultimately, had to result in short sketches produced together with the communities and later, had to be shown to a wider audience.

After Windhoek, Rehoboth is the fastest growing town in Namibia. It numbers 30,000 souls, who take up a very special place in Namibian society. They are coloured refugees from South Africa, descendants of mixed marriages between the Dutch and the Hottentots.

Even before the Europeans, and the Germans in particular, settled in South West Africa, these Rehoboth-*basters* (bastards) fled to the North on large oxcarts, terrified as they were of the British who took over South Africa from the Dutch.

In Rehoboth, the place where they settled in the then acacia-woods on the Central Plateau near a couple of natural springs, they formed a powerful buffer between the Hereros in the North and the Namas and Damaras in the South, who were continually at war with each other about the ownership of the plains and fields on and around the Central Plateau.

The *basters* had an independent and autonomous government which was respected by the British. They had the command over large parts of public ground which they could divide autonomously. Every male youngster from eighteen years onwards and every single woman from her fortieth year onwards had a right to his or her own land to build a house on if nothing else. However, in the course of history, the amount of land to be given away by the *baster* community proved to be limited. Moreover, because of the fact that sons inherited land from their fathers the problem of allotment arose. And allotment brought deterioration. Rich farmers would lease small allotted plots from the smallholders and leave the pastures closely-cropped within two or three months. The smallholders would hire out their labour services in town or in the mines. Yet, when the price of copper fell on the world market, many a mine near Rehoboth closed and structural unemployment increased. With all its consequences.

Men leave their villages to work somewhere else. Women stay behind with the children. When the mother, heading a one-parent family, also has to provide an income, the children remain at home and do not finish school. In some neighbourhoods, gangs of youths appear. Under the influence of alcohol, petty crime flourishes and the weekends see the inevitable stabbing. Teenagers get pregnant and eventually end up in prostitution. In brief, the *baster* society has the usual social problems.

On top of this, the *basters* felt superior to the black ethnic groups in their surroundings. This can be explained historically. In this semi-urban rural environment, *basters*, in the past, defended their land and cattle with might and main against nocturnal robbery by surrounding neighbours, cattle breeders from a warlike culture. These armed conflicts used to be the order of the day. The *basters* were so adept at this that the German colonial regime engaged them in private armies to protect their goods and cattle from the black population. This has not helped the *basters'* popularity among their black neighbours.

Following the whites they rented dark people to do inferior, domestic and menial work. To this day, domestic personnel in Rehoboth is put up in special quarters - Block E - where the people are totally separated from the *baster* community, living in abject poverty in slums made of cardboard and corrugated iron. Here too, there is major unemployment among the black population. On the shrinking labour market *basters* and their dark coloured neighbours, more and

more, become heavy competitors. This does not advance further integration by any means.

Theatre at the basis of Namibia

The National Theatre of Namibia (NTN) is based in Windhoek, the capital. Here large and international theatre projects are produced and received, such as the large scale ANC production of *Amandla*. The National Theatre is an independent business that has to support itself with financial backing from the Ministry of Education and Culture. According to Zeeman (1991:38), the goal of this cultural institute is to encourage indigenous performing artists to do productions by giving them the necessary backing. The National Theatre also houses its own group and, finally, it accommodates so called 'high culture' productions.

To whom the NTN is relevant remains the question. To a modest cultural crowd in Windhoek or to the entire country? The latter is not really within the financial and logistic possibilities of the NTN. That is why the rural communities sum up the relevance of the NTN in Windhoek as being 'next to nothing'. In spite of this, the NTN works hard to become a 'flagship resource centre' for all Namibians who are involved in the performing arts.

From way back, Namibian cultures such as the Khoi, the Herero, the Nama, the Himba and Ovambo, have known a rich narrative tradition. Moreover, each community celebration is graced by music, dancing and singing. In the northern region, in particular, a strong dance-drama tradition remains.

The first community theatre in Namibia was organized, naturally, by the church, and later by schools. Because of the fact that 98% of the Namibian population is Christian, the first community performances were passion plays organized by the church. Later, school performances followed and performances that originated from extramural activities, initiated by enthusiastic teachers. In this way, the Rehoboth Community Theatre Group came into being.

The first objective of this international meeting in Rehoboth was to train the Namibian cultural workers who occupied themselves with the establishment of community theatre at the basis of society. To accomplish this, the varied group of people was divided into sub-groups which consisted half of Namibians and half of foreign guests. These groups scattered over the various quarters of Rehoboth.

To start with, an inventory was made of the social problems of the neighbourhoods. These were analyzed in groups. Likewise, the potential of performing arts within Rehoboth was mapped, ranging from playing the drums or other instruments, to singing, drama, dancing or puppet play. Next, short acts of no more than twenty minutes were prepared and those were performed in the neighbourhoods at the end of the five days.

Gradually it appeared that the most creative potential could be found in the poorest part of the community, in Block E. This was, after all, the melting pot of the most diverse ethnic backgrounds from all parts of the country. It is no

coincidence that the Rehoboth Community Theatre Group came into being right here in this block. Whereas in other parts of the *baster* community, drama was not regarded a serious activity for adults, for the black society, working with drama was as natural as their other daily activities.

It was difficult enough to let the people from the other areas in the *baster* community talk about their problems, let alone having them act out their problems. The youth took a different approach. A small theatre group had formed at the secondary school of Rehoboth, and the members, under the inspiring leadership of their teacher, had produced a play about their home situation in the quarters. The play not only dealt with the usual youth problems of going out, dating and unwanted pregnancy, but also with parents' problems such as unemployment and alcoholism.

Adults in the areas did not particularly like having their problems exposed like dirty linen, in their small and close-knit community. And justifiably so. Right from the start, it looked as if the performance of a short play in the area would not exactly be a possible contribution to the structural solution for the problems that came up. This is where the didactic paradox of this kind of training seminar lies. After all, during a workshop like this one, the main objective is the training of cultural workers in techniques of problem-solving and cultural intervention strategies. Because of the emphasis of these objectives and the limited time perspective the community (which functions as an experimental medium in the learning process of the cultural workers) is left out in the cold with their 'acted-out' social problems.

However, in spite of this paradox, Robert Chambers (1981:11) is right when he stated that in the field of rural development, still too little serious attention is paid to simulation-play, role play and drama: "One variant is theatre, dramatizing common events or crises for poor people. Another is for role reversals, for people who are powerful to play the parts of those who are weak. Dramatizing events such as encounters to 'look in on' and see in a new way, from the other party's point of view, situations which are a commonplace of their work".

Final remarks

Although a lot happened in the world in the last fifteen years with regard to the organization of popular theatre, a clear philosophy and direction for the future seem to be lacking. It seems as if the various African theatre groups and networks share a certain unspoken collective political orientation and commitment, but their practical activities and the development of concepts differ considerably. And according to Dickson Mwansa (1991:14), this diversity shows a certain extent of beauty. Yet, popular theatre makers should stay alert. The general feeling at the meeting was that if they do not, the groups will turn into fringe groups, in an economic as well as a cultural sense.

In order to better direct the critical self-evaluation regarding popular theatre, the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), prior to this two-week meeting, sent around a questionnaire to popular theatre makers, groups and organizations around the world. The questions all dealt with the desirability, the effectiveness and practicability of a number of international activities in the field of popular theatre.

One of the questions was whether the International Popular Theatre Alliance (IPTA) should be revived. Another question concerned the desirability of an international newsletter in the field of popular theatre. A third question dealt with research into other popular media, such as music, folklore, narrative tradition, comics and puppet play, for example. Finally, the questionnaire wanted to obtain information on the distribution of video recordings about popular theatre experiments of an educational nature, of performances and workshops, so that people working in this field could see each others' work.

All four questions steer towards the establishment of a clearinghouse on popular culture and theatre. The main issue, after all, is a central administration of the International Popular Theatre Alliance (IPTA), a research centre in the field of popular culture and media, and, finally, an editorial, production and distribution system for the IPTA-newsletter and video recordings.

Beside the problem of raising funds for the financing of these activities, the question arose if this core function should be placed at one of the regional centres or networks. An alternative would be to move the core function every three years from one regional centre in the Third World to another. This was tried in 1983, after the first international meeting in Koitta in Bangladesh, and failed miserably because of administrative inhibitions, constraints and bottlenecks. All this would argue for a central place to build an international network and clearinghouse. But where?

The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) in Canada, in the past, stood up for the supporting of those kind of informal networks. This meeting in Namibia is a clear example. However, it is the Council's policy to make these networks independent as soon as they are strong enough. This, ultimately, argues for independent accommodation in the South for IPTA's future activities.

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Theatre for development and the empowerment of development-support communication

The mass media have adopted their own type of messages, alien to the various cultural contexts in developing countries. Not only these media are beyond the control of Third World nations economically and managerial speaking, but also the contexts and the forms of these messages, as they are produced abroad and modelled to North Atlantic standards, are alien to the development needs in rural and sub-urban areas. This depressing situation has led to reaction in many developing countries against the use of media on a massive scale.

There is growing awareness in developing countries of the fact that media speak their own 'language' and that their methods of production are dominated by Europe, North America and Japan. The reassessment of private culture and of private ways of transferring knowledge, skills and information, together with the desire for autonomous development of cultural identity, have caused some reserve about the import of 'big' media. It became evident that such cultural import would inevitably bring about a new kind of dependence.

In the short run there is not that much that can be changed about this because 'big' media will stay, by their nature, one-way channels of communication. However, media such as theatre and other performing arts might as well be used to release the wealth of knowledge that exists in a country, and in this way give people an active part in development support. This approach requires the use of media at a local level so that the contents of programmes are based primarily on real-life situations of people.

Radio used as a local development-supporting medium, allows two-way communication, stimulates popular participation and can be used in the transfer of skills and knowledge in various fields. Another medium used in this way can be a rather advanced tool as video, still 'big' in nature, but modest in its use.

Popular culture: period-related or universal notion?

For several years now quite autonomous and genuine educational and cultural development has been emerging from the local levels of society. Popular education and popular culture are both concepts which have not yet been given much attention by development and education experts and communication specialists. One reason is that they tend to see these as scattered developments with no apparent coherence. Another reason is that the word 'popular' has various connotations. Popular culture refers to the products of the mass culture industry: pop-music, entertainment, fashion, commercials, novelettes, etc.

	Conventional projects	Participatory projects
scale	large-scale	small-scale
co-operation	top-down vertical hierarchical authoritarian outside-in non-participatory	bottom-up horizontal co-operative democratic inside-out participatory
attitude	paternalistic	equalitarian
change (seen as)	improvement/progress	transformation
development (criteria for)	exogenous criteria to growth and progress	endogenous criteria to growth and progress
solutions (kind of)	incidental	structural
problem-approach	problem-solving	problem-raising
dissemination	campaigning	awareness raising
communication (kind of)	monologue, one-way	dialogue, two-way
media used	macro media 'big media'	micro media 'little media'
research	feasibility studies inception studies	participatory research action research
development (of)	sectors (food, nutrition, health care, family planning)	target groups (children, women, youth, landless labourers, slum dwellers, refugees, indigenous people)
leadership	project manager project co-ordinator	animator, promoter, facilitator, catylist, front-line-worker
participation	as a means to an end	as an end in itself
objectives	product-focused	process-focused
budget	high budget	low budget
planning	closed planning	open planning

Figure 8: *Contrastation of two kinds of development co-operation*
Source: Kronenburg 1987, p. 209-212.

For example, in the North Atlantic countries the adjective 'popular' refers to the culture supplied to us by those who speak and write, design and compose, with

large numbers of consumers in mind. In other words, popular culture in the North Atlantic world is the one aimed at the lower and middle class consumer by the mass media[1]. It is this culture that broadly dictates the latest fashions and trends in such areas as clothing, home furnishing, music, etc.

A study of popular culture cannot be made without the researcher having a concept of culture in mind as his starting-point. A view on culture eventually always has to do with interests; for producers as well as for consumers of culture. Generally this is least obvious in the arts or sciences. It is, however, immediately obvious on the level of politics and policies: the artistic leader of a theatre group, the producer of a broadcasting company, a representative of the union for artists, a policy maker of the Ministry of Culture, a member of parliament or a political party, a lobby for the amateur theatre, etc., all see 'culture' in their own private way, influenced by their own interests.

Definition, therefore, is taking position: showing one's hand. Nonetheless definitions of 'popular culture' can be divided into at least two categories, that is (on the one hand) the definitions which get their meaning from specific human and social developments. These definitions are generally of historical nature, and formulated from the 'civilisation' urge of human societies. Opposite this period-related definition there is the 'universal' or general definition of a more anthropological nature, which relates to the preservations of 'culture' of societies. They see culture, then, as a set of attributes and conventions which the population is very attached to, or as a society's shared ability to assign particular meaning to things, in order to give common purpose and credibility to one's own existence within society.

As we have seen in previous chapters popular culture and popular theatre are strongly related to the rise of urban development. Popular culture is culture which, in general, resides among broad layers of the population. In contrast to indigenous culture, which resides in cultural enclaves of traditional minorities, popular culture values traditions, but simultaneously is open to modernization. In English literature still another concept of culture is used, i.e. folk culture. Especially from the anthropological section the notion folk culture received the necessary attention during the fifties. As Foster (1953) indicated, the anthropologists extended their operational field during that time. They no longer limited themselves to isolated 'primitive', indigenous or tribal societies, but produced more and more studies about rural communities which had already encountered processes of modernization.

In that sense folk theatre[2] refers to what Van Duin (1983) called regressive popular culture. Considering the contagion of the term folk theatre with folklore, with the countryside and with obstinate remainders from a slowly dying past, I would rather use the term popular theatre for theatre which in a lively way appeals to broad layers of the population. Popular theatre, for me, agrees with what Van Duin calls progressive popular culture. Particular forms of popular theatre are known, which have arisen, without intervention[3] from the outside,

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from a historical theatrical development of its own: an endogenous development. Besides, examples are known of the development of new theatrical forms, which clearly have been presented to the population from the outside. This is a so-called exogenous development.

Thus, in the course of history, the term popular theatre has had different connotations in different countries, depending on the changes of social climate on a national or international level. The social changes which occasioned these shifts in meaning, varied from simple changes of government to radical social changes from within (revolution) or violent interventions from outside (war). The importance of these social changes becomes clear from the fact that in history sharp distinctions are made between revolts, wars, civil wars, 'coupes', struggles for freedom, reforms and revolutions.

Popular theatre is often mentioned in the same breath as political liberation, social or cultural oppression, social change or economic exploitation, and is perceived as a political instrument (theatre of resistance or theatre for liberation). It sometimes seems as if the work situation of a popular theatre maker is determined by this social context of battle and resistance. However, these work situations tend to differ. Working in the Greek resistance theatre (Suny Myrsiades 1977) during the Italian and German occupation in World War II, must have been different from working in the theatre promoting the reconstruction of Mozambique, or in the leftist student theatre in Paraguay during the early seventies.

A period-related definition of popular theatre[4] can only be distilled from historical case-studies which render the diachronic shifts of its connotations. The use of the term popular theatre, historically speaking, is most apt when applied to those forms of theatre which came into being parallel with an urban and early industrial development in order to meet an accelerated process of change in society. This allows us to label early forms of, for example, Kabuki theatre as popular theatre, whereas later onwards in history Kabuki got labelled as traditional or classical Japanese theatre. It also allows us to label the Kwagh-hir theatre of the Tiv (Nigeria), indigenous as well as popular theatre.

A historical theatre development from revolutionary to national popular theatre, as in France[5], however, is not exclusively peculiar to First World countries. Third World countries, and particularly those countries which had obtained, by force, independence from the colonial mother country more than a century ago, like most Latin American countries, have had a similar development. In spite of the lack of any urge, in these countries, to find the theatre roots in their own cultural heritage and so to stimulate the development of a national popular theatre, there was no getting away, in these countries, from the influence of the world repertory, dictated first by Europe and later by the United States.

Therefore, indigenous, native and traditional theatre are often used as interchangeable terms to refer to very heterogeneous theatre forms, ranging from age-old traditions to relatively new developments which are nowadays found in the rural areas as well as in the urban areas of the Third World. Following

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Castagnino (1963:42) popular theatre is circumscribed as theatre that is generally associated with the resistance against bourgeois theatre, or against all 'classic' theatre that represents the standard, the rule, and the existing order.

Dealing with cultural studies on the local level

Development models rest, like all models of cultural and social change, on some basic, universally made assumptions, says Hjort (1986:34). For example, one would say that producing food stems from a biological need. But that does not mean that someone who is hungry will change his eating habits just like that. Those eating habits, like any traditional customs regarding hygiene, recreation, farming, child rearing, sexual relations, patterns of leadership or even interpersonal behaviour, cannot easily be changed. They are deeply embedded in the culture of society. Culture is necessary in order to give purpose and credibility to one's own existence. Rob people of their culture and you rob them of their reason of being.

Thus, according to Kraak (1984:8) the main paradox of the concept of culture lies in its universal oneness combined with an infinite diversity of content and forms: all cultures are different, developing authentic, internal or endogenous characteristics and becoming highly individualized, while at the same time they are all founded on a limited number of principles, systems of relationships, interlocking patterns and cultural configurations, and aesthetic and moral values.

On the whole, development studies are still based on economic and technological progress. Economic and educational planners, sociologists, agronomists and engineers are pulling the strings here. Their activities are not limited to research only, but they also apply their newly acquired insights, both here and in the Third World.

Studies on culture are the speciality of (art)historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists and men of letters. It is unfortunate for them that historical data on the popularisation of culture in ancient times are almost entirely lacking, with the exception of the North Atlantic tradition. Moreover, they lack the necessary sources by which to test our findings on popular culture on the non-western tradition, scientific work being based on the dominant tradition of the written word rather than on the oral practices that prevail in the non-western world. Even in those places where there is a written tradition, authorities were usually not inclined to document expressions of popular resistance, considering it to be a blemish on their image of culture.

At the macro level officials are thinking about the implementation of development programmes and projects. At this level the cultural dimension of development is rarely taken into account. However, at the micro level cultural problems are seriously felt by the field staff. "For them a well conceived 'project' may well improve conditions in a village, but it would be naive to suppose that it can

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transform that village's deeply-rooted traditions, values and human relationships all by itself" (Coombs 1980:24).

In the course of time there has been a lot of research into subjects and themes which are either directly or indirectly connected with the cultural dimension of development. This research, however, was never done under this denominator. Besides investigations on an academic level, a lot of information was already gathered through development co-operation organizations themselves, and not in the least by local non governmental organizations (NGO's) in particular, who since their beginning have been using the locally operative culture as an entrance to their work. One of these entrances was the use of theatre as an educative 'micro-medium' in the process of development.

In the conceptualization of theatre as a tool for development difficulties are met with in reconstructing the history of the notion of theatre for development, because this requires both a diachronic and a synchronic study of the key-concepts 'theatre' and 'development'. It is because the adjectives which so often go with the two concepts - such as popular theatre and economic development - have been given different connotations in the long, established history of theatre and the younger and more tentative history of development cooperation. These differing connotations depend on the perspective of the persons doing the analysing, making the theatre or conducting the development work.

This type of theatre, which deliberately attempts to intervene in processes of social change, is also known as theatre for development, or development-supporting theatre. In the first years of the 70's nobody had ever heard of Theatre for Development. No matter what terms were used for this theatre trend, all groups plead for more social equality. First of all, they wanted to change the target group's view of reality; to have them consider things in a different way than they used to do. Secondly, they wanted to provide the target group with as many of the means as possible in order to realize the desired interventions of this reality. The idea to contribute to a process of emancipation through the medium of theatre was brought into effect by performances dealing with a general social problem, and which were analytical in character; by performances dealing with minor problems and working on a campaign-supporting level, and, finally, by instantaneous performances, illustrating and analysing acute problems ('instant theatre').

The use of theatre as an instrument of intervention in processes of social change can vary from theatre that helps various population groups gain some mastery over their own lives by, at the very least, making them aware of the changes that are going on, to theatre for the benefit of social change, when theatre is supportive of socio-political reforms of the entire state system. Such uses predate the concept of 'theatre for development' because of the fact that development work is a relatively recent phenomenon.

No matter what change you are trying to bring about, the intervention must be translated into the culture of the people you are operating with, if it is to

acquire credibility in their eyes. This is why, according to Adhikarya (1975:65), information campaigns in the Third World must not only promote technological improvements, but also cultivate a certain receptiveness to change by deliberately creating a cultural climate for modernisation. Whatever the strategy of cultural intervention may be what is involved is the raising of an awareness, in order to increase receptiveness to change.

Against all odds: popular theatre and cultural resistance

The following phenomena are generally regarded as characteristics of modern society: a high degree of technological development, self-destructive individualism and automized production processes. Great importance is attached to being modern in post-war Euro-American societies. If history can be called as the child of modern times, it could be put that craftsmen are actually 'pre-historic' remains of a modern economic system. And the same thing would hold good for the fringe economy of the informal sector in which craftsmen, peddlers, petty tradesmen and popular (performing) artists have their places.

According to Carton (1988:338) three symptoms are attributed to the post-modern era: the seeking of autonomy, the increasing interest in cultural heritage and the revival of corporations. If this is the case the informal sector - within which craftsmen operate - is not only 'pre-historic' but 'post-modern' as well. The informal sector thus escapes the social vacuum which developed countries ended up in during the eighties.

Unemployed youths try to achieve a relative degree of economic autonomy via the informal sector; popular culture in the settlements on the outskirts of the cities indicates an increasing profiling of an authentic cultural identity, and the reliance upon family, friends and neighbourhood ties points to an increasing degree of self-help via new corporation forms. In this way, according to Carton (1988:341), pre-historic and post-modern elements meet in informal workshops and apprenticeship learning, where such phenomena as child labour (abolished in modern society) and the ghetto-blaster (symbol of status and communication) come together.

One person thinks of theatre as entertainment or as an artistic or cultural medium; the other thinks of theatre as a social or educative medium. One thinks of development in terms of technological and economic changes that will bring about structural improvements in the living situation of a population group; the other thinks that the same target group might be better helped by social, cultural or educational reforms.

In the past popular resistance to these changes and reforms never formed part of the chronicles and other written sources on which the history of the rulers were based. As oppression increased reaction tended to one extreme or the other: to be silent, or to make a clear statement. The holders of power have always realized this, of course. As a result, there have often been two forms of a single

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Mganda dance by the Kadenge Boys in Zambia
Photo: Feri de Geus

theatrical tradition: one for the elite, the other for the common people. Even then, the elite cunningly managed to absorb the popular version within its own system and thus to silence or to control it under the threat of censorship. The effects were the same: either the theatre went underground (as with the Nyau societies we described in chapter seven) or new forms came into being (like with Tamasha in India and the early forms of Kabuki in Japan). Resistance did not die, and the theatre continued to voice genuine popular indignation.

In the Philippines, during the Marcos regime martial law entailed that political theatre was possible only in distant rural areas. In urban districts it was a delicate matter and plays had to be constructed with great care. The subversive message that was to be transmitted had to be wrapped in a theatrical form that answered to the cultural norms of the elite. It could vary from an adaptation of Brecht, a play expressing protest against nuclear experiments in the Pacific, to a historical play dealing with power relations under Spanish domination and performed in style of the Zarzuela theatre of that period. This front of respectability disguised considerable resistance which was reflected in activities in the

rural areas among the peasants. It was not quite 'underground theatre' but nevertheless the plays clearly expressed political resistance. The theatrical workers in the Philippines were not the only ones to work in this fashion.

In general it can be said that post-revolutionary theatre, during the reconstruction stage, is led by bureaucrats and technocrats who think in economic terms and who, therefore, do not know the first thing about the use of theatre for the benefit of cultural development. This was at least the case in Russia, where the Bolshevists never really understood, at the time, why Mayakovsky's poetry, Meyerhold's formalism and Prolekult's activities were so widely appreciated among the Russian labourers.

In later post-revolutionary developments it has been the cultural policy makers who, right from the start, have made clear the importance of theatre for the benefit of cultural identity to the politicians and the National Planning Offices. In China after 1949, and in Cuba after 1959, theatre was to consolidate the revolution on stage. Later forms of revolutionary theatre disappeared slowly but surely unless they were absorbed by the establishment theatre of the new state, keeping the people entertained in their spare time, winning support for the regime and encouraging patriotic effort.

Final remarks

This book intended to contribute both to the theory and the practice of theatre as an educative instrument to be used in processes of social change and development. In the first place by presenting a historical reconstruction of its conceptualization. In the second place, by placing popular theatre and theatre for development in the context of history and local culture, in such a way that the continuous processes of social change of the last four decades in the North Atlantic world as well as in the Third World are properly taken into account.

'Development co-operation' as a post-war term became current after most of the present countries of the so-called Third World became independent in the fifties and sixties. This implies that 'theatre for development' has a history of not much more than four decades. This fact in itself has had an influence on its recent history.

Although the differing connotations do not make it any easier to define the field of study, the denotations of the concepts of theatre and development do enable us to relate the two terms. Both theatre-makers and development workers want to put their audience, target group or clientele on a particular track. In short, both deliver a message in which the outward form has a bearing on the content.

During the last two decades governmental and multilateral organizations have taken it for granted that theatre is a relatively inexpensive educative means which uses the language of the people. Theatre seems to avoid the problem of illiteracy, is part of the local culture, and is a form of entertainment. Traditional theatre has

been used rashly in the framework of information campaigns about health care, hygiene, agriculture, birth control, political lobbying and suchlike.

These ideas of the use of the performing arts as popular media in non-formal education have mainly been developed in NGO's and institutions for adult education. The departments of adult education carried out experiments in rural development integrating the performing arts in non-formal education activities, such as literacy programmes, community development and adult education.

A problem which presented itself again and again during the experiments in the field of rural development and adult education was finding a balance between the social and the artistic criteria that must hold for this kind of theatre. Therefore, the emotional impact of a play, which is based on an existing social relevance, was most often felt to be more important than the artistic criteria.

The plays are still often initiated and performed by outsiders to the local communities. Among the first to realize that the use of theatre in this way would not have any educative impact were the cultural and social workers, the animators in the field. Engaged in awareness-training about unequal social conditions, they were less concerned with telling people how to increase their crops by using fertilizers as with the problem of gaining access to the people through whatever channels. To these workers, not every form of theatre could be effective in their work. Why not? Because some theatrical forms were embedded in a grid of socio-cultural values, or were directly associated with previous national information campaigns, e.g. with regard to family planning.

By using local theatrical forms of expression theatre groups in developing countries had an enormous impact on breaking away from a western-oriented theatrical concept. Can a development-support message be brought home by means of traditional folk theatre? Too soon and too often traditional theatre has been used for information campaigns concerned with health care, hygiene, agriculture, birth control, political canvassing and such like. Whether you inform people about the use and results of fertilizers, or whether you make people aware of the fact that the use of fertilizer is going to make you dependent on banks and multinationals, in neither case any arbitrarily chosen traditional theatre form will do as a medium.

Whether theatre as an instrument of development-support communication can be used against social oppression remains a vital question. As systems of oppression become more and more efficient. It can only be said that generally discussion and dialogue are important emancipatory and developmental instruments. Whether they can be made use of, depends on the extent of the oppression, which is often great in situations of under-development.

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Notes

Chapter 1

1. In 1981 a regional seminar was organised on 'Indigenous Learning Systems for deprived Areas' by the Regional Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology (INNOTECH), a special research institute of the South-East Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO) in Sulo Hotel, Quezon City, 3-7 November 1981 in Manila (The Philippines). As a result of this regional conference most SEAMEO member countries started during the eighties research into indigenous learning in their own countries. The Philippine based INNOTECH research centre started a elaborated research project into indigenous education among the Philippine 'hill tribe' of the Kankanaey. A special issue of INNOTECH Journal (vol. 9, no. 1, 1985) is completely focused on the "Indigenous Learning System among the Kankanaey: a pilot case study".

2. The German journal *Adult Education and Development* has regularly been publishing articles on African indigenous and traditional education. In March 1988 an article was included in number 30, written by Heribert Hinzen on "Western schooling, traditional education, and alternative developments in Sierra Leone". In March 1991 Dipo Fagunwa contributed to this journal in number 36 (pp. 55-63) with an article entitled. "Oh my master; an appraisal of indigenous apprenticeship in Ife-Ife, Nigeria". And then in September 1990 part of number 35 of this journal was devoted to indigenous and traditional education in Africa, containing several contributions by African educationists, like P.A.K. Mushi who earlier on in number 32 of *Adult Education and Development* already had criticised the indigenous African pedagogy. In number 35 (pp. 65-72) Mushi published an article under the title "Is indigenous African pedagogy a real option?". In the same issue he is commented upon, among others by Barrie Brennan (pp. 73-88) in his review article "Indigenous learning re-visited" containing an elaborate commentary on Mushi's ideas.

3. Endogenous development is a development within a cultural or social unit (such as community, a village, a society or culture, a country or state, or even an entire continent), that has developed without direct intervention from the outside, and hence, is characteristic of - or has been made characteristic by - that culture or society without having been imposed or enforced by a foreign (exogenous) society or authority.

4. See for Brecht's ideas on experiments in theatre and drama his chapter 'On experimental theatre' which was published in his *Brecht on theatre; the development*

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of an aesthetic (pp. 130-135), translated by John Willett and published in 1965 by Methuen & Co Ltd, London.

5. See for a definition of 'national identity' pages 35-40 of Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila's book *The limits of educational change; national identity formation in a Philippine public elementary school*, published in 1989 by the University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City, Philippines.

6. According to George Steiner (1989:116-127) "Deconstruction is theoretical. It is, to be precise, a meta-theory, which is to say a theoretical investigation and critique of all available theories of meaning and models of understanding".

Chapter 2

1. Part of the information on *avant-garde* in this chapter is derived from Rob Thoolen's master's thesis: 'The politics of fantasy; from avant-garde to post-modernism: artists protesting against the autonomous position of art in western society' (Amsterdam, Drama Department/University of Amsterdam, 1989).

2. Moreover, in the theatre business it certainly holds that "grant-giving bodies have the power of political censorship in their ability to withhold subsidy" (Rawlence 1979: 62-63).

3. This subtitle was taken from the very inspiring article by Teeuw (1985: 11).

4. Albert Lee Nekimken devoted his Ph.D. thesis (1978, University of California, Riverside) completely on "The impact of Bertolt Brecht on society and the development of political theater in Turkey". This document counting 619 pages was reviewed in *Dissertations Abstracts International; (A) The Humanities and Social Sciences*, February 1979, volume 39, number 8. It is also included in University Microfilms International 1979. Order number is 7904044.
   In reviewing "Theater der Welt", the intercontinental youth theatre festival in Munich in 1988 Marian Buijs (*De Volkskrant* 24th of May 1988) paid special attention to the influences of Brecht on the Third World presentations during this festival.
   In his analysis of the development of contemporary commercial theatre in Bengali theatre Raha (1978:154) pays special attention to the influence of Brecht in Bengali theatre after World War II.
   Rustom Bharucha is paying attention to the influence of Brecht (and Boal as well) in Asia in his article 'Cambodia and the theater', which was published in *Theater*, volume 11, 1980, pp. 92-95.

5. See for a general contribution on the post-war *avant garde* in Europe the article written by Ronald Hayman 'Wie is er bang voor avant-garde?, which was published in the *UNESCO Koerier* number 119, July 1983 (7-10). In correspondence with Hayman's article the argument set up by Wiebe Hogendoorn pays attention to acting-styles and the *avant garde* in his article 'Avant-gardisme en acteren'. Furthermore Arnold Heumakers commenting upon Magnus Enzenberger 'Aporien der Avantgarde' is of the opinion that the *avant garde* was vanguished completely in the last half of the eighties in his brief article entitled 'Manoeuvres van de avant garde', published in *De Volkskrant*, 30 december 1989. Finally, Rob de Graaf looks to the phenomenon of *avant garde* as to the heroes from the past in his 'Pleidooi voor een avant-garde van de twijfel', which appeared in *Toneel Theatraal*, volume 113(1992)3: 15-18.

Chapter 3

1. "The word 'alienation' is an unfortunate translation as it implies a lack of sympathy with the play. The German 'Verfremdung' refers to the making strange of familiar objects or ideas, thereby enabling the audience to see them in a new light, from a different perspective. By means of such 'estrangement' or 'alienation' the spectator, Brecht maintained, would be enabled to ponder the dramatic action, draw his own conclusions, and so become a more useful member of society" (Roose-Evans 1989:69).
"In this, it is worth noting, Russion Formalism pre-dates the Brechtian concept of 'alienation' (*Verfremdung*) whereby the object of art is seen to be the revolutionary goal of making the audience aware that the institutions and social formulae which they inherit are not eternal and 'natural' but historical and man-made, and so capable of change through human action" (Hawkes 1977:63).
"Brecht's theatre therefore is anti-illusionist: that is, no effort is made to create an illusion of reality. Instead the stage becomes something of a lecture platform, a laboratory in which models of human behaviour are examined, tested and evaluated" (Esslin 1978:65).
"(...) Brecht wanted a form of theatre where the audience never forgets that it is in an auditorium watching a re-enactment of the past. To this end characters step out of their roles; a scene is terminated before its emotional climax; at appropriate intervals slides are projected, bearing a message which serves to underline the scene; at the end of each scene, low white curtains are drawn across the action. Brecht's aim was to 'alienate' the audience, to create an effect of distancing so that the audience would not become emotionally involved in the drama" (Roose-Evans 1989:69).
Brecht himself wrote a dialogue, explaining the *Verfremdungseffekt* which was reprinted under the title "Binocular Vision in the Theatre: the Alienation Effect" (from his *The Messingkauf Dialogues*, 1963, Methuen, 1965, pp. 76-83) in the

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Sociology of Literature and Drama; selected readings (pp. 368-374), edited by Elizabeth and Tom Burns and published by Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973.

2. See for further analysis of Brecht's interest in sports and wrestling Joel Schechter's article, entitled "Jesters to His Majesty the People; Brecht, Lazarenko & Mayakovsky", which was published in *Theaterwork*, volume 3 (May/June 1983) number 4: 8-21.

3. In his book *Environmental Theater* (pp. 40 and further) published in New York in 1973 by Hawthorn Books, Inc., Richard Schechner spent chapter two on the phenomenon of 'participation' by the audience: "Audience participation expands the field of what performance is, because audience participation takes place precisely at the point where the performance breaks down and becomes a social event" (Schechner 1973:40).

4. Also Jan Fabre in the beginning of the Eighties used 'nakedness' as a specific stage device. See for example the interview of Luk van der Dries (1984:25), entitled "Jan Fabres theatertrilogie; minimal music en Gesamtkunstwerk", published in *Etcetra*, volume 2(1984) number 8: pp. 24-26.
Richard Schechner in his *Environmental Theater* spent chapter three of this book completely on 'nakedness' and performing styles (pp. 87-124). *Environmental Theater* was published in New York in 1973 by Hawthorn Books, Inc..

5. For further reading on Dario Fo's ideas about acting and theatre please consult his own writings, like for example the article "Les intellectuels et la culture", which was published in *Travail Théâtrale* (1978: pp. 64-67) and "Dialogue with an audience" which appeared in *Theatre Quarterly*, 9(1980)35: 11-16.
See also Tony Mitchell's article "Dario Fo's 'Mistero Buffo': popular theatre, the Guillari, and the Grotesque", published in *Theatre Quarterly*, 9(1979)35: pp. 3-10.
In his Ph.D. thesis on popular theatre in Europe in the period after World Was II, Eugène van Erven is devoting chapter VII (entitled "Il Collectivo Teatrale la Comune: radical popular theatre from Milan for the World") to the work of Dario Fo. The thesis entitled "The contemporary people's theatre: a study of the radical popular theater from 1968 to the present" was delivered at Vanderbilt University (1985), and available from University Microfilms International (300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, USA).
Some Dutch contributions to Dario Fo's work appeared in the Dutch theatre magazine *Speltribune*. Nanette Kramers and Frans Roth wrote a brief article on Fo's work, entitled "Dario Fo, politiek kluchtwerk", published in *Skript*, 1(1983) April: 12-15. An article written by Rien Schouten entitled "Water bij de wijn" was published in *Speltribune*, (1984) 10: 3-5.

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6. In this context it is of interest to mention a one page report of Kees van der Waals concerning a lecture of Richard Foreman on his performance "Café Americain" and his ideas on what he called 'ontological-hysteric theatre', which appeared in *Toneel Teatraal*, volume 103 (1982 number 2.
A series of articles published in the Dutch theatre magazine *Toneel Teatraal* during the 1980's were written by the Dutch 'Robert Wilson *chroniqueur'* Janny Donker. A Dutch article worth mentioning is the one written by Ton Haans, entitled "Bob Wilson en zijn verklaring der tekens", which appeared in *Speltribune*, 1(1976)4: 1 & 13. Also interesting in this context is the article written by Franco Quadri "Een architect van tijd; Bob Wilson of de ontdekking van de tijd", published in *Museum Journaal*, (1983, 6:342-348).

7. Especially the Flemish (Belgian) director Jan Fabre has been working with this mechanism. See for more information about the physical exhausting activities on stage the article of Marijn van de Jagt (1986:26), entitled "De Macht van Fabres Acteurs", published in *Toneel Teatraal*, volume 107 (1986) April number (pp.25-28). See also the brief article of Marijn van de Jagt (1989:47), entitled "De vissemoord van Jan Fabre", published in *Toneel Teatraal*, volume 110 (1989) number 9: pp. 46-47.
And in his report on Jan Fabre's activities Jan Middendorp also relates to this emphasis on physical exhaution in Fabre's work. The article is entitled "Jan Fabre en de theatraliteit: 'Real is real'", and was published in *Toneel Teatraal*, number 5 & 6: pp. 11-12.

8. Joost Sternheim (1991:7) wrote about three contemporary Dutch stage directors named Jan Joris Lamers, Gerardjan Rijnders and Frans Strijards that have in common that the dramaturg Brecht - not the playwricht - has been a prominent midwife standing at the cradle of the artistic 'birth' of these theatre makers. See the article of Joost Sternheim, entitled 'De machtige troost van de ordening die kunst heet; Jan Joris Lamers, theatermaker', published in *Toneel Theatraal*, volume 112(1991) number 9: pp. 6-10.

9. In an interview with Tom Blokdijk (1987:7) the Dutch theatre director Frans Strijards formulated some of his ideas about Brecht's didactic dramaturgy. This interview, entitled "Frans Strijards, een romanticus", was published in *Toneel Teatraal*, volume 108(1987) number 3: pp. 4-9.

Chapter 4

1. 'Art for art sake' in non-literate societies has been discussed by Richard Schechner in his *Public Domain; essays on the theatre* (p. 75) published in 1970 by Avon in the series of Discus Books.

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2. In his elaborated study on 'popular drama' J.S.R. Goodlad devoted a complete chapter (number two, pp. 11-29) to 'The association of drama with ritual'. See Goodlad's *A sociology of popular drama*, published in 1971 by Heinemann, London.

3. The word *guru* originated from India, referring to the master of arts. The concept gained importance in art and fine art teaching from India to Indonesia. Colin McPhee in het *A house in Bali* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986) spends a paragraph on The Guru (pp. 191-194), a professional *dalang* on Bali.

Chapter 5

1. Lukács writings roused a lot of criticism. August Hans den Boef wrote a short article on 'Georg Lukács: zelfkritiek om te kunnen blijven publiceren' in *Komma; tijdschrift voor politiek en sociaal onderzoek*, volume 5 (1986) number 4 (pp. 107-111), commenting upon a book of Frank Benseler (Hrsg), *Revolutionäres Denken - Georg Lukács; Eine Einführung in Leben und Werk*, Luchterhand Publishers.

2. Paul Merchant wrote a modest and very accessible introduction to *The Epic*, in 1971 published in London by Methuen & Co Ltd. In this context especially the introductory chapter one on the role of the bard and chapter two on classical epic and the oral tradition are of importance.

Chapter 6

1. "The more fully political rule which followed, of warrior-kings rather than the earlier priest-kings, achieved greater centralization by virtue of mobilizing a larger surplus, to support repressive forces, which were further stimulated by conflict with neighbouring city-states" (Aidan Southall 1985:284-285). This quotation is taken from Aidan Southall's article "Cities and modes of production", which was published in 1985 in *City and society; studies in urban ethnicity, life-style and class* (pp. 281-292), edited by A. Southall and P. Nas et.al. (Leiden, Leiden Development Studies no. 7).
   Veblen once described the aristocracy as the 'leisure class', having a special relationship with the arts. In this context see for example the paragraph 'The antagonistic dichotomy of capitalism' in E.K. Hunt and Howard J. Sherman's book on *Economics; an introduction to traditional and radical views* (pp. 120-131) published by Harper & Row publishers (Cambridge).
   And according to Paul Bourdieu this 'leisure class' developed a strong 'taste for distinction', described by Warna Oosterbaan Martinius in 1985 in Schoonheid, welzijn, kwaliteit; over legitimerings- en toewijzingsproblemen in het kunstbeleid (pp. 22-26), published by the Sociologisch Instituut (University of Amsterdam; UvA).

2. See for more information on highlife songs two articles written by Sjaak van der Geest. The first is entitled 'Het beeld van de dood in Ghanese highlife-liederen', which was published in *Romantropologie; essays over antropologie en literatuur* (pp. 19-51) which was edited by Jan van Bremen, Sjaak van der Geest and Jojada Verrips and published by the Anthropological- Sociological Centre (ASC) of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) in 1979.
The second article of the same author was called 'Highlife liederen, dood en begrafenis: een aanvulling' and published in *Romantropologie; essays over antropologie en literatuur, II*, (pp. 133-141) by the same forementioned editors and published by the same ASC.

Chapter 7

1. The 'talking drum' (in Swahili *ngoma*), the outstanding traditional African means of communication, in spite of the fact that it transmits a message via clear codified rhytms, pitch and speech-melody, is not included in this definition of music because it usually is not directly an artistically given part of a 'performance'.

Chapter 8

1. According to personal communication with Stewart Crehan (1991) Tikwiza did not cease to be in 1976, as I stated in the main text of chapter eight. Miraculously it revived from 1984 to around 1986-87.

2. See for some more profound generalisations about ZANTAA an article written by Stewart Crehan, entitled "Ideology, patronage and the State in Zambian Theatre", published in the *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, 2 (1990: pp. ...) and an article of the same author entitled "Fathers and sons: politics and myth in Zambian theatre", which appeared in *New Theatre Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 9 (1987: pp. ...).

Chapter 9

1. See for further information about the workshop discussed in this paragraph the articles of Steve Abah and Tar Ahura. Steve Abah wrote 'Popular theatre as integration and conscientization: the example of the Katsina-Ala (Nigeria) project', which appeared in *IFDA-dossier* (1985) no. 48: pp. 3-14; he also wrote 'The Samuru street project, Nigeria', published in *Media Development* (1988) vol. 35, no. 3: 22-24. Abah also wrote an article with co-author Michael Etherton entitled 'The Samuru projects: street theatre in Northern Nigeria' published in *Theatre research international*, vol. 7, no. 3: pp. 222-234. Tar Ahura wrote 'Using indigenous structures for mass social transformation in Nigeria: the theatre approach', which appeared in *Sonolux information*, no. 11: pp. 22-27; 'Awareness

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and involvement through popular theatre: the Igyura experience' published in *Adult education and development*, no. 23: pp. 121-127.
Kristin Cashman published a 'The Fertilizer Bush Drama' in *Development Communication Report*, no. 74(1991)3: pp. 7-9.

2. Those who formed the first board of UAPA were Debebe Eshetu from Ethiopia (as president), Daniel Labonne from Mauritius (as vice president and treasurer), Stephen Chifunyisé from Zimbabwe (as vice president), Hansel Eyoh from Cameroon (as secretary general), Sophia Lokko from Ghana (as member), Kalinguy Mwambay from Zaire (as member) and Penina Mlama from Tanzania (as member). Some of these people were directly involved in the ACTPA/ATEX training programme which led to the staging of *Footprints*. Among them were Debebe Eshetu, Stephen Chifunyisé and Daniel Labonne. The other leading figures during this workshop were Amadu Maddy (Sierra Leone), Louis Akin (Ivory Coast) and Francis Nii-Yartey (Ghana).

3. ASYMWORK was organised in Mauritius from 15-29 October 1988.

4. In the past the ACTPA project received financial support from the national development co-operation agencies of all the four Scandinavian countries, as well as from those of Germany, the Netherlands and Canada. Rumour has it that this support stopped because of an ongoing fight between UAPA and ATEX. This discontent among the members and the board of UAPA and the director of ATEX caused international disinterest by donor agencies to allocate funds for a initial three year contract.

Chapter 11

1. See for the persuasive aspect of role-play Wilbur Schramm's *Men, messages and media; a look at human communication*, (pp. 231-232), published by Harper & Row, New York, 1973.

Chapter 12

1. In Egypt the formal education in performing arts is provided at so called 'Specific schools', meant to specialise students in very specific subjects like drama or dance, communication techniques, nursing, health care but also as a professional army officer.

Chapter 13

1. See for a brief report on 'the marketing of illusions' the article "De marketing van Mickey Mouse; de invasie van een illusie", that was published in the *NMB Bankblad; kwartaaluitgave voor het bedrijfsleven*, vol. 11 (1992) pp. 10-12.

2. Louisa C. Schuurman in 1991 wrote a (unpublished) thesis on the use of 'dramatic activities in musea', entitled "Dramatische activiteiten in musea; een onderzoek naar het educatief gebruik van dramatische middelen in musea" pp.37.

3. See for reviews of two Tender performances (on 'blind dating' and on 'ecological conscience') the Dutch daily newspaper *De Volkskrant*.
   The one on 'ecological conscience' was written by Hein Janssen ("Hilarische groene show Tender met plastic tuin en vogels op CD") and appeared in *De Volkskrant* Tuesday the 6th of October 1991. The second on 'blind dating' was written by Marian Buijs ("Jubilerend Tender schenkt eenzamen een danspartner") appeared in *De Volkskrant*, Friday the 4th of October 1991.

4. In the *Tinbergen Institute Research Bulletin*, volume 3, number 1 (February 1991; pp. 107) an article was published by V.J. Batelaan, entitled "Culture in an organizational context", which was commented upon in the same journal (pp. 11-12) by M. Döderlein de Win in a brief review entitled "A comment on culture in an organizational context'".
   Some more accessible articles were published in Dutch in the early 1990s. Matt Dings made a study of the 'cultural conventions during office hours', entitled "De cultuur van het kantoor", which was published in *HP/De Tijd* (number 13, 1992, pp. 30-47); in *MO; tijdschrift voor organisatiekunde en sociaal beleid* volume 40, number 4, 1986 (pp. 326-341) . J. Hendriks published an article entitled "Rituelen als interventie-instrument" (Rituals as an instrument of intervention); *Antropologische Verkenningen* a Dutch professional anthropological journal devoted a special issue to the anthropology of organisational culture (volume 8, number 4, Winter 1989).

5. The educational department and the general management of the Zuiderzeemuseum took the Plimoth Plantation as their point of departure, artistically as well as educationally speaking. This theme park in Plymouth, Massachusetts (USA) is a reconstructed village dating back to 1627 and inhabited by the Pelgrim Fathers. See for a further description of the methods of presentation in the Zuiderzeemuseum an article of Ruud Hisgen and Gerda Vermin, entitled "Woont U hier echt?; een nieuwe presentatiemethode in het Zuiderzeemuseum" and published in *Speltribune*, number 2 (1991) pp. 3-9.

6. The same approach of real-to-life animated robots is more and more used during educative exhibitions, like for example the famous exhibition on dinosaurs, reconstructed by Dinamation (USA). The reconstruction techniques are also used by the Museum of National History (New York; USA) to present the audience with a true-to-life situation of the first human beings in Africa as well as in Europe. See the article written by Broer Scholtens "Oermensen van vlees en bloed" published in *De Volkskrant* 10 October 1992, p. 17.

7. *De Volkskrant* wednesday 18 December 1991 an article of André Roelofs 'Gorbatsjov akkoord met ordelijk einde Sovjet-Unie', p. 1; 'Bursemij vestigt hoop op kunstkerstboom' p. 2; Arno Haijtema 'Toeristische klapper blijft mede afhankelijk van onbetaalde vrijwilligers' on page 13.

Chapter 14

1. For some more information and explanation see the article written by Hans Ariëns, entitled 'Op zoek naar het wij-gevoel; onderzoekschool voor Niet-Westerse Studies' published in *Mare*, 14 mei 1992: pp. 10-12.

2. The Regional Centre for Archeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA) of the South-East Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) not only co-ordinates regional activities in fine arts but in performing arts as well. SPAFA developed from the original plan called the Applied Research Centre for Archeology and Fine Arts (ARCAFA) which was first brought up at the sixth meeting of the South-East Asian Ministers of Education Council (SEAMEC) in 1971. Due to political developments during the seventies and eighties in Cambodja, Laos and Vietnam it was decided upon to base the regional centre in Bangkok. The four main activities to be co-ordinated by the centre are training of participants from member countries, providing seminars and workshops, taking care of research and development activities and making arrangements for personnel exchanges.
During the initial years of operation the SPAFA regional centre in Bangkok was based at the Department of Fine Arts, Ministry of education in Bangkok. So, the implementation of SPAFA programmes and activities related to archeology, conservation, visual and performing arts was co-ordinated by the main centre in Bangkok, although the participating member states were expected to organize their own meetings as well.
See for more information about ARCAFA the brief article 'From ARCAFA to SPAFA: What next?' published in *SEAMEO Quarterly*, 7(984)3, pp. 4-11. For reports on the various workshops organised by SPAFA during the eighties we refer to the following articles: 'Indonesia hosts seminar on traditional performing arts' published in *SEAMEO Quarterly*, 5(1982)1, p. 32; 'Workshop focuses on artist's role in everyday life' in *SEAMEO Quarterly*, 12(1989)3, pp. 41-43; 'Regional seminar on indigenous traditional theatre in South-East Asia' in *SEAMEO Quarterly*,

14(1991)2, pp. 43-46; 'Centre regional seminar on contemporary theatre in South - East Asia' in *SEAMEO Quarterly* 15(1992)1, p. 39. See for further information on sponsoring and consultancy within the SPAFA network the following articles: 'The Netherlands through SEAMEO assists in the manpower development of South-East Asia' published in *SEAMEO Quarterly*, July-September 1979, pp. 4-6 and 'Consultants and experts: a boon to SPAFA's projects' which appeared in *SEAMEO Quarterly*, 9(1986)2, pp. 31-34.

3. We cannot omit mentioning the work done by the present academic staff. Clara van Groenendael has done excellent field as well as desk research, with respect to wayang theatre in Java. Ms. Hinzler has been involved in the same subject. Ms. Brakel has made a highly extensive study of Javanese court dance.
   Both ms. Brakel (academic staff member) and ms. Bogaerts (lecturer and tutor) have mastered the Javanese dances they study. Former student Bernard Arps has learned to perform Javanese *wayang kulit* as well as the *gamelan* accompaniment, and is a regular performer in the genre.

4. The delegation contained a guitar teacher from the Amsterdam Sweelinck Conservatory, a former state inspector of arts education, and the managing directors of the conservatories of The Hague and Rotterdam.

5. The Netherlands Ministry of Education and Science has granted an annual sum Dfl. 300,000 for five years, in order to carry out the plans.

Chapter 16

1. See for some more explanatory notes on the distinction between mass and popular culture an article of Dwight MacDonald, entitled 'A theory of mass culture' and published in *Mass culture; the popular arts in America* (pp. 59-73), published in 1957 in Glencoe (Illinois), by the Free Press.
   A more up to date article on the popular and the mass media was written by Bernard Sharatt under the title 'The politics of the popular; from melodrama to television', which appeared in *Performance and politics in popular drama; aspects of popular entertainment in theatre, film and television 1800-1976* (pp. 275-295) and published in 19.. by the Cambridge University Press (Cambridge).
   For those interested in popular culture in Mexico we refer to the article of Carlos Monsiváis entitled 'Notas sobre cultura popular en Mexico' which was published in *Latin America Perspectives*, vol V (1978) issue 16, number 1, pp. 98-118.

2. See for the way Bertolt Brecht conceived 'folk theatre' his 'Notes on the folk play' included in his *Brecht on theatre; the development of an aesthetic* (pp. 153-157) published by Methuen in London in 1965.

See for more information on the term 'folk theatre' and 'folk media' the article by John Lent entitled 'Mass media, folk media and rural masses in the Third World' (pp. 9-14) and published in *Third world review* vol. 20(1978), pp. 1-19.

3. In this context 'intervention' is be referred to as: "A systematic effort to strategically apply resources to manipulate seemingly causal elements in an ongoing social process, so as to permanently reorient that process in directions deemed to be desirable by the intervening party" (Röling 1983).

4. Others have tried to come to a definition of 'popular theatre' as well. In this context David Mayer wrote an article 'Towards a definition of popular theatre', which was published in *Western popular theatre* (pp. 257-277) edited by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards and published in 1977 by Methuen and Co. Ltd., in London. Viveka Hagnell wondered 'Is the established theatre popular?; Audience research among newcomers and connoisseurs', which was published in the forementioned *Western popular theatre* (pp. 229-238) as well. The same book included an article of Irmeli Niemi on 'Finnish popular theatre' (pp. 221-228). And for those who are interested on how in Argentina 'popular theatre' was perceived we have to refer to a contribution of Judith Evans entitled 'Setting the stage for struggle: popular theatre in Buenos Aires, 1890-1914', which was published in the *Radical history review* (1979), no. 21: pp. 49-61.

5. For further information about the concept of 'popular theatre' during revolutionary France see chapter four (Theatre as a school for patriotism) of James E. Leith's *Media and revolution; moulding a new citizenry in France during the terror* (pp. 32-42), published in 1968 in Toronto by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

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Appendix 1

Acronyms

AALAE	African Association for Adult Education and Literacy
ACFOD	Asian Cultural Forum for Development
AID	Agency for International Development
ANC	African National Congress
ASKI	Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia
ASTI	Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (de Indonesische academie voor dans-, muziek- en toneelkunst)
BR	British Rail
CCCA	Centre for Communication and Cultural Action
CEBEMO	Catholic Organization for Joint Financing of Development Programmes
CESO	Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries
CITASA	Central Institute of Theatre Arts in South-East Asia
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FIRT	International Federation of Theatre Research
GM	General Motors
HBO	Higher Professional Training
HKU	Utrecht Fine Arts College
IACE	International Council of Adult Education
IAS	Institute of African Studies

ICAE	International Council of Adult Education
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
IPTA	International Popular Theatre Alliance
IPTA	Indian People's Theatre Association
ISI	Indonesian Institute Seni Indonesia
ISTAR	International Society for Traditional Arts Research
ITB	Technological Institute of Bandung
MCH	Mother and Child Healthcare
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MMSS	Madurai Multipurpose Social Service
NDT	Namibia Development Trust
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIC	National Immunization Campaign
NOVIB	Netherlands Organization for Development Cooperation
NTN	National Theatre of Namibia
NUFFIC	Netherlands Organization for International Co-operation in Higher Education
OPC	Office of the President and the Cabinet
PDMN	Pasinaon Dalanging Mangku Nagaron
PETA	Philippine Educational Theatre Association
PFC	Progressive Friends Circle
RDAS	Rural Development Advisory Service

RUU	State University of Utrecht
SEAMEO	South-East Asian Ministers of Education Organisation
SMKI	Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia
SOLAI	Social Life Animation India
SPAFA	SEAMEO Project in Archeology and Fine Arts
UAPA	Union of African Performing Artists
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
UNZADRAMS	University of Zambia Dramatic Society
US-AID	United-States Agency for International Development
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie
WDCD	World Decade for Cultural Development
WVC	Netherlands Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Culture
ZACT	Zimbabwe Association for Community Theatre
ZADACO	Zambian Dance Company
ZANTAA	Zambia National Theatre Arts Association
ZAT	Zambia Art Trust

ZBC National Broadcasting Company of Zambia

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Appendix 2

Definitions

Apprenticeship method refers to learning in any field by observation and imitation from other persons who are more accomplished than the learner (see: p. 14).

Avant garde consist of politically radical artists who believed in the role of art in processes of social change (see: p. 27).

Consensus is the aspiration to reach agreement between all involved by means of a lengthy dialogue (see: p. 135).

Culture is a set of attributes and conventions which the population is very attached to, or as a society's shared ability to assign particular meaning to things, in order to give common purpose and credibility to one's own existence within society (see: p. 241).

Culture is a whole of a shared body of ideas, behavioral conventions and products which have been passed on from generation to generation so as not to disappear (see: p. 22).

Cultural/social anthropology is that field of the social sciences that studies man in his physical, social and cultural diversity, within the context of his society (Hofstede 1991: 332) (see: p. 20).

Endogenous development is a development within a cultural or social unit (such as a community, a village, a society or culture, a country or state, or even an entire continent), that has developed without direct intervention from the outside, and, hence, is characteristic of - or has been made characteristic by - that culture or society without having been imposed or enforced by a foreign (exogenous) society or authority (see: p. 249).

Indigenous/traditional education is education which has evolved within a culturally defined area and which is entirely appropriate for the local circumstances of that area (see: p. 10).

Language is a construction, a metaphor used to exchange ideas about reality (see: p. 206).

Metaphor is the figurative portrayal of social behaviour and social relationships from a different historical period or a different social order (see: p. 34).

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Myths are stories that are too restricted by usage to exchange ideas about reality (see: p. 206).

Performance is perceived as a repeated, once-only and credible co-presence with the audience in a unique performative experience (see: p. 199).

Play is the desire for the object with which one plays, a longing which does not go beyond the here and now, and which passes irrevocably (Mauriras-Bousquet 1991:8) (see: p. 214).

Problem solving is perceived as a creative learning process to teach self-reliance to the communities involved (see: p. 18).

Ritual is any complete system of actions and reactions in which the individual human will cannot change the system fundamentally, but only gives it a particular shape and colour (Boal 1970:94) (see: p. 208).

Rituals are collective activities that are, technically speaking, superfluous for reaching the set objectives, but which are regarded as socially vital within a corporate culture (Hofstede 1991:19) (see: p. 206).

State is a large social system with a set of rules that is enforced by a permanent administrative body (Chirot 1977:11) (see: p. 75).

Theatre for development is a special form of popular theatre within the field of adult education meant to be a community focused problem-solving cultural intervention strategy, in which the process of creating a play is educationally speaking as valuable as the product of the performance (see: p. 232).

Theatrical performance is a performance in which the active participants personify others by means of one or more already set sequences of physical actions and thus depict a story to entertain an audience (see: p. 53).